When Will Vietnam Negotiations Begin? *Arthur Cox*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — April 12, 1969, 40 cents

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

Whose University?
Michael Miles

America & France —*Stanley Hoffmann*

True Redeemers —*Michael Harrington*

On 'Che!' —*Richard Gilman*

Goodbye, Columbus —*Stanley Kauffmann*

THE EDITORS: American Militarism, Ike the Honest, ABM Counterattack, Kid Gloves & Drugs, Sweet & Sour

NR BL07 C009 I H069
BALDWN MLCE COLL
RITTER LIB PRD
BEREA OHIO
44017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nancy and John Seletti aren't trying to save the world Just a little piece of it.

About a mile outside the Korean village of Ku Am there are a few dozen young, still-tender mulberry trees growing on a small hill. Someday these trees and their succulent leaves will be the heart of a new village industry—a silk raising farm. That day is still many months off, but it doesn't stop the village men from making daily inspection treks up the steep hill, just in case. Just in case something miraculous has happened since yesterday. After all, it wouldn't be the first miracle to happen in Ku Am. Everyone in the village knows the story of Chang Sook, the daughter of the widow.

Ten years ago Chang Sook's chances of survival were as slim as she was. Her father had disappeared during the family's flight from North Korea. Her mother, a seamstress, worked a backbreaking day and most of the evening to earn $10 a month. Barely enough to keep them from starving.

But today that's all changed because an American couple named Seletti are sharing a little of their good fortune with a girl to whom a little means everything. Nancy, John and five-year-old Alexandra Seletti are New Yorkers. They're not fabulously wealthy as the villagers of Ku Am believe. But, they're not poor either. *Comfortable* probably describes them best. They have everything they really need, but give them ten minutes and they'll come up with ten things they want that $15 a month would buy. Luckily, they thought of Chang Sook first.

Through Save the Children Federation, the Seletti's $15 a month is doing a remarkable number of things. First, Chang Sook's immediate needs and future schooling are being taken care of. The family is getting help, too: Enough to enable Chang Sook's mother to start a small knit shop.

And with all this, there is still some money left over. This money, together with money from other sponsors, was borrowed by the village to start its precious mulberry farm. Someday silk raising will mean a permanent increase in the village's income—and permanently end the need for charity. That's what Save the Children Federation is all about. Although contributions are tax-deductible, it is not a charity. The aim is not merely to buy one child a warm coat, a new pair of shoes and a six month supply of vitamin pills. Instead, your contribution is used to give the child, the family and the village a little boost that may be all they need to start helping themselves.

Sponsors are desperately needed for children in Korea, Vietnam, Latin America, Africa and Greece. You can select the child's nationality. You will receive a photo of the child, regular reports on his progress and, if you wish, a chance to correspond.

Chang Sook writes to the Selettis. She also sends small homemade gifts to Alexandra. And she tells them of her dreams of becoming a nurse. She'll probably make it. If she does, the Seletti's investment in one girl will be repaid a thousand-fold.

The Selettis know they can't save the whole world for $15 a month. Just a small corner of it. But, maybe that is the way to save the world. If there are enough people like the Selettis. How about you?

Save The Children Federation—
Founded in 1932
National Sponsors (partial list):
Andy Griffith, Gene Kelly, Mrs. Eli Lilly, Paul Newman, Mrs. J. C. Penney, Frank Sinatra, Mrs. Earl Warren

Save The Children Federation

NORWALK, CONNECTICUT 06852

I WISH TO CONTRIBUTE $180 ANNUALLY TO HELP A CHILD
☐ KOREA ☐ GREECE ☐ VIETNAM ☐ LATIN AMERICA ☐ AFRICA
☐ WHERE THE NEED IS GREATEST.
ENCLOSED IS MY FIRST PAYMENT
☐ $15 MONTHLY ☐ $45 QUARTERLY
☐ $90 SEMI-ANNUALLY ☐ $180 ANNUALLY
☐ SEND ME MORE INFORMATION
I CAN'T SPONSOR A CHILD. ENCLOSED IS A CONTRIBUTION OF $_____

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____ ZIP_____

CONTRIBUTIONS ARE INCOME TAX DEDUCTIBLE NR 4/12/9

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As your first Book-Dividend from the BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB

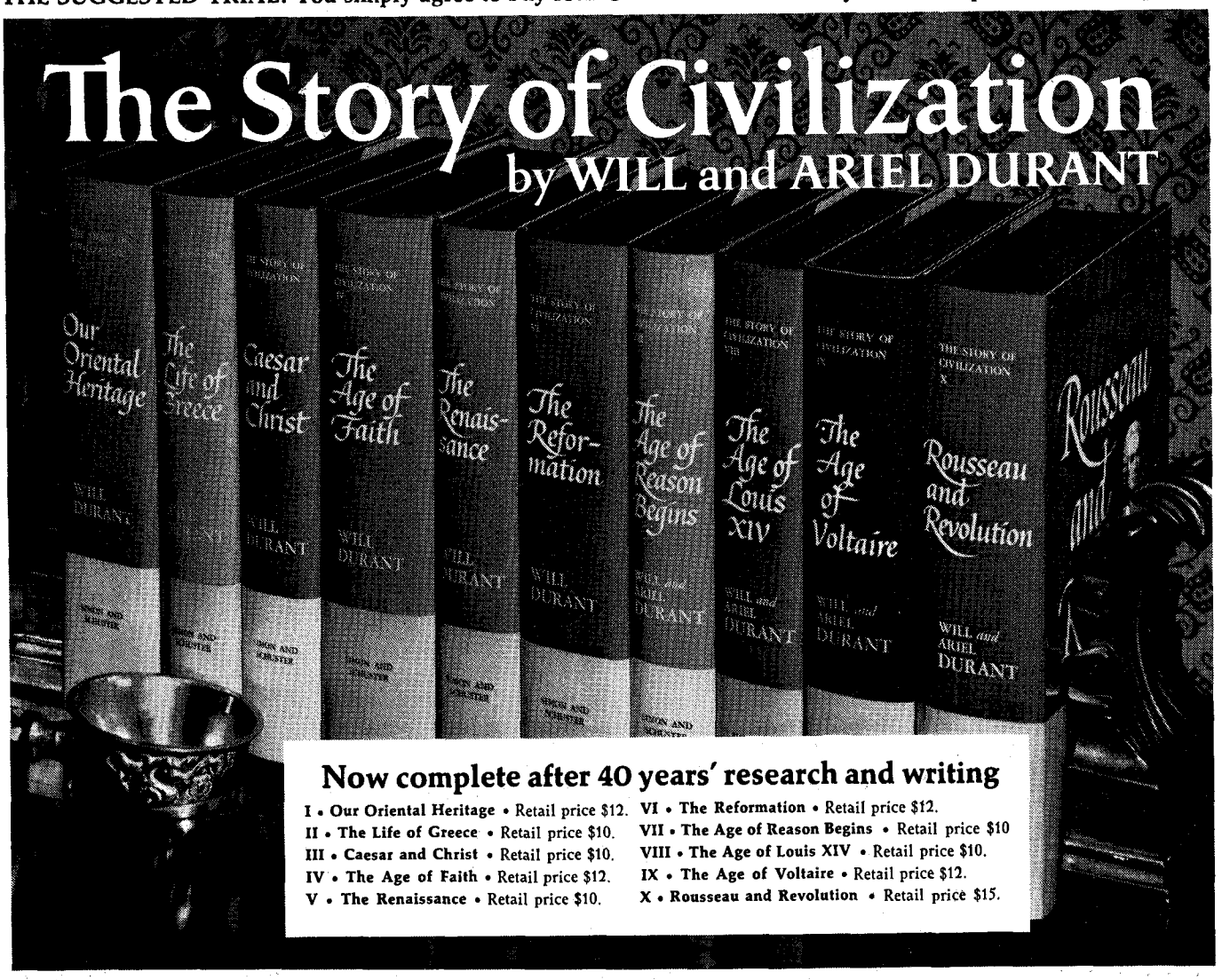
THIS GREAT TEN-VOLUME HISTORY FOR ONLY $1.50 A VOLUME [RETAIL PRICE $113]

at once in a short experimental membership

THE SUGGESTED TRIAL: You simply agree to buy four Club Choices within a year at the special members' prices

The Story of Civilization

by WILL and ARIEL DURANT



Now complete after 40 years' research and writing

I • Our Oriental Heritage • Retail price $12.
II • The Life of Greece • Retail price $10.
III • Caesar and Christ • Retail price $10.
IV • The Age of Faith • Retail price $12.
V • The Renaissance • Retail price $10.
VI • The Reformation • Retail price $12.
VII • The Age of Reason Begins • Retail price $10
VIII • The Age of Louis XIV • Retail price $10.
IX • The Age of Voltaire • Retail price $12.
X • Rousseau and Revolution • Retail price $15.

BOOK-DIVIDENDS: A library-building plan every reading family should know about

THE PURPOSE of this experimental membership is to have you discover, **by your own actual experience,** the extraordinary opportunity you have as a member of the Book-of-the-Month Club to build a well-rounded home library at little cost—through the Club's unique Book-Dividend system. You can acquire valuable sets or expensive volumes for trifling sums.

✶ **THE SYSTEM IS SIMPLE** • If you continue after this experimental membership, you will earn, **for every Club Selection or Alternate you buy,** a Book-Dividend Credit. Each Credit, upon payment of a nominal sum, **often only $1.00 or $1.50**—somewhat more for unusually expensive volumes and sets—will entitle you to a valuable Book-Dividend which you may choose from over one hundred fine volumes now available.

✶ **HOW CAN THIS BE DONE?** A portion of the amount members pay for books is invested in entire editions of valuable books and sets. **These are the Club's Book-Dividends** and members are free to choose among them. Since the inauguration of the Book-Dividend system, **$465,000,000 worth of books (retail value) has been received by Club members through this unique plan.**

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, INC.
280 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017 A127-4-1

Please enroll me as a member of the Book-of-the-Month Club and send me *The Story of Civilization* in 10 volumes, billing me $1.50 per volume. I agree to purchase at least four monthly Selections—or Alternates—during the first year I am a member. Members' prices for these books average 20% less than retail prices. I have the right to cancel my membership any time after buying these four books. If I continue after this trial, I will earn a Book-Dividend Credit for every Selection—or Alternate—I buy. Each Credit, upon payment of a nominal sum, will entitle me to a Book-Dividend which I may choose from a wide variety always available. (A postage and mailing charge is added to all shipments.) PLEASE NOTE: Occasionally the Club will offer two or more books at *a special combined price.* Such purchases are counted as a single book in fulfilling the membership obligation.

MR. / MRS. / MISS .....
(Please print plainly)

Address 9-27

City & State ..... *Zone or Zip* .....

The trademarks BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB *and* BOOK-DIVIDEND *are registered by Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., in the U.S. Patent Office and in Canada*

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $10, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc. 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a service for our readers—

THE NEW REPUBLIC BOOKSTALL

specially selected books at very special prices

319. WORKING AND THINKING ON THE WATERFRONT by Eric Hoffer. This record of one decisive year in the life of an articulate and provocative personality provides stimulating insights into the creative process. Always the individualist, Hoffer responds to his time with perception, wit and candor.
Reg. price $4.95 Your price $3.95

320. PORTNOY'S COMPLAINT by Philip Roth. The first novel to smash records before publication. Just out, and it will continue to break more records. A reading 'must' in our age.
Reg. price $6.95 Your price $5.55

321. THE PARABLES OF PEANUTS by Robert L. Short. With inimitable style and relevance, Charlie Brown, Snoopy, Lucy, Linus and Schroeder dramatize new Christian parables to fit our times. Paperback.
Reg. price $1.95 Your price $1.55

322. THEFT OF A NATION by Donald R. Cressy. An eloquent indictment of the real danger of organized crime which reaches into Congress, the judiciary, the police agencies and labor unions and almost every type of business known.
Reg. price $6.95 Your price $5.55

323. THE HUSBAND by Sol Stein. This novel contains the very real and dramatic story of a man struggling to find the truth in his life. The author is the publisher of THE ARRANGEMENT.
Reg. price $5.95 Your price $4.75

324. THE AGE OF DISCONTINUITY by Peter Drucker. How different is the society we now live in from the oncoming society which we clearly perceive but scarcely accept. The author focuses with clarity and perception on the forces of discontinuity that are creating our future.
Reg. price $7.95 Your price $6.35

325. THE 900 DAYS: The Siege of Leningrad by Harrison Salisbury. The longest siege a great city has undergone since biblical times. Of the 3,000,000 people who endured it, half died, in six months. Mr. Salisbury tells this narrative for the first time, and his range and power are commensurate with the subject.
Reg. price $10.00 Your price $7.95

326. AFTERWORDS: Novelists on Their Novels edited by Thomas McCormack. Fourteen authors write about their fiction, and explore the creative act in highly personal terms. Auchincloss, Capote, Fowles, Mailer, Renault . . . to name a few.
Reg. price $5.95 Your price $4.75

327. COUNTERPLOT by Edward Jay Epstein. The author of INQUEST, after two years of research, believes that the means by which District Attorney Garrison conducted his investigation of the JFK assassination are suspect.
Reg. price $4.95 Your price $3.95

328. MAXIMUM FEASIBLE MISUNDERSTANDING: Community Action in the War on Poverty by Daniel P. Moynihan. The new Nixon appointee states clearly the role of social science in the formulation of social policy.
Reg. price $5.95 Your price $4.75

329. THE TRAGEDY OF LYNDON JOHNSON by Eric F. Goldman. An independent and objective examination of the triumphs and failures of the Johnson administration revealing the strengths and flaws of this almost larger-than-life President.
Reg. price $8.95 Your price $7.15

309. SCHOOLS WITHOUT FAILURE by William Glasser, M.D. The author of the famous **Reality Therapy** believes that education today is failure-oriented to a large degree. He proposes a new program based on increased involvement and thinking rather than on memory drill. His approaches in the classroom covering punishment, responsibility, homework and grading are applicable from kindergarten to graduate school.
Reg. price $4.95 Your price $3.95

15. THE PREVALENCE OF NONSENSE by Ashley Montague and Edward Darling. This is scholarship rolling a hoop, revealing the cheerful or sometimes ghastly truths by which we live. Here are the errors which mankind accepts as gospel. A droll book by an outstanding anthropologist and a witty satirist.
Reg. price $5.95 your price $4.75

49. HOW TO WRAP FIVE EGGS. Japanese Design in Traditional Packaging by Hideyuko Oka. This book is a totally unexpected monument to a culture, a way of life, a universal sensibility carried through all objects down to the smallest, most inconsequential and ephemeral things. A book of exceptional beauty with 222 black and white and color plates.
Reg. price $15 your price $12

314. EYEWITNESSES: The Negro in American History by William L. Katz. From the first Negro who sailed to America with Christopher Columbus to today's champions of true equality and civil rights their stories unfold as an integral part of the history of America. This is a long overdue history of the vital part the Negro has played in American history.
Reg. price $9.75 Your price $7.80

You can buy any or all of the books in this select group at substantial savings. Minimum order $5.00. Add 25c per order for postage and handling.

149. THE WAR PRAYER by Mark Twain. Written in 1904, Mark Twain left instructions that this be published only after his death. "I have told the whole truth in that," he said, "and only dead men can tell the whole truth in this world." Published separately for the first time.
Reg. price $5.95 your price $4.75

10. THE NEW YORK TIMES COOKBOOK, edited by Craig Claiborne. An excellent standard cookbook consisting of 1,500 recipes tested in The New York Times kitchen. It emphasizes international dishes but includes enough typical American ones. A superior production. Illustrated.
Reg. price $9.95 your price $7.95

154. BETWEEN PARENT AND CHILD by Dr. Haim G. Ginott. This book accomplishes an ambitious purpose: to make life between parent and child less irritating and more rewarding.
Reg. price $4.95 your price $3.95

316. THE JOYS OF YIDDISH by Leo Rosten. "A miracle of a book. The best book about the American language since Mencken. Never did we more need the joys of Rosten."—Daniel Boorstin.
Reg. price $10.00 Your price $7.95

151. FLOATING ISLAND by Emily Kimbrough. Adventures and misadventures on a barge trip through the canals of France. Only Miss Kimbrough can tell it with that joy of living and sense of nonsense.
Reg. price $5.95 Your price $4.75

318. THE GLORIOUS BURDEN: The American Presidency by Stefan Lorant. A concise political history of the United States in terms of our Presidents and Presidential elections. One superb volume of 864 pages including 1,500 illustrations.
Reg. price $25.00 Your price $19.95

310. HOW TO KEEP YOUR CHILD FIT FROM BIRTH TO SIX by Bonnie Prudden. This book contains more than 300 photographs with step-by-step programs for ensuring a child's fitness from birth to six years. Parent and child will find muscle building exercises and play activities they both will benefit from and enjoy.
Reg. price $5.95 Your price $4.75

53. THE CONSUMERS UNION REPORT ON LIFE INSURANCE. A Guide to Planning and Buying the Protection You Need by the editors of **Consumer Reports.** The chances are that you are spending a substantial amount of money on life insurance and receiving inadequate protection for your family. Much of the nation's 17 billion dollar outlay for insurance is spent unwisely. This book provides a rational approach to the buying of life insurance. Paperback.
Reg. price $1.95 your price $1.55

317. THIRTEEN DAYS: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis by Robert F. Kennedy. "Should be basic reading for all citizens everywhere . . . will certainly be read, and one prays reread and reread."—N.Y. Times.
Reg. price $5.50 Your price $4.40

92. THE SENSE OF WONDER by Rachel Carson with photographs by Charles Pratt and others. "An eloquent plea for parents to rekindle their own feeling for nature and help children use all their senses as avenues of delight and discovery," says the N. Y. Times. Now in paperback.
Reg. price $2.50 your price $1.99

153. THE FIRST CIRCLE by Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn. A panoramic novel of consummate literary power by a writer who is regarded by most Russians as their greatest literary talent today. Its basic theme is the response of individuals to a dehumanizing totalitarian system, the way in which some discover truth, reality —and themselves—within that system, while others are victimized.
Reg. price $10 your price $7.95

148. NEW YORK TIMES GUIDE TO PERSONAL FINANCE by Sal Nuccio. A fine family reference book which accurately presents the major issues of personal finance confronted by nearly everyone. Paperback.
Reg. price $1.95 your price $1.55

160. ARIEL. Poetry by Sylvia Plath. "A unique book —with all the pain translated into beauty, nothing less.—Robert Penn Warren. Paperback.
Reg. price $2.45 your price $1.95

MINIMUM ORDER $5.00

THE BOOKSTALL
P. O. Box 7796
Benjamin Franklin Station TNR041269
Washington, D. C. 20044

Please send the books whose numbers I have circled below.

10 15 49 53 92 148 149 151 153
154 160 309 310 314 316 317 318 319
320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328
329

I enclose $..... plus 25c postage and handling.

Name _____

Address _____

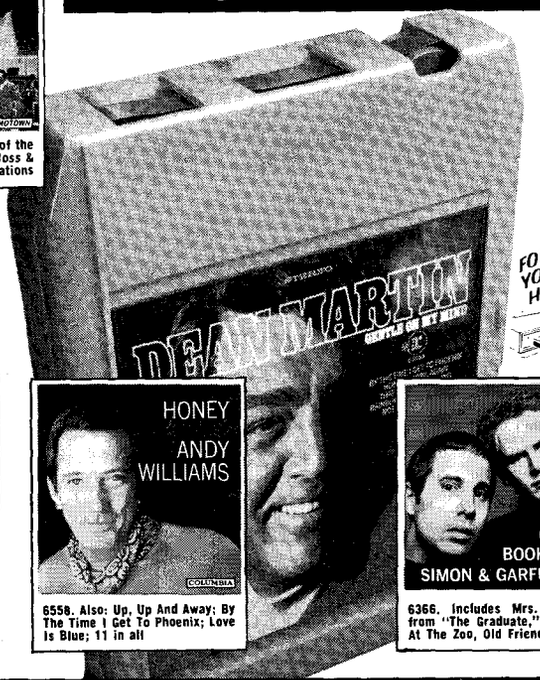
City _____

State _____ Zip Code _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

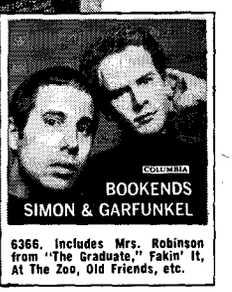
Now...for the first time...a brand-new service that offers you stereo tape cartridges—*at great savings!*

7273. Original sound track of the TV special, starring Diana Ross & The Supremes, The Temptations

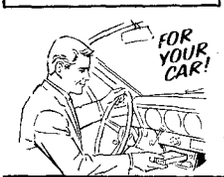


7249. Roger plays: Dream A Little Dream Of Me; Talk To The Animals; Up, Up And Away; etc.

6558. Also: Up, Up And Away; By The Time I Get To Phoenix; Love Is Blue; 11 in all



6366. Includes Mrs. Robinson from "The Graduate," Fakin' It, At The Zoo, Old Friends, etc.



As your introduction, choose

ANY 3
8-TRACK CARTRIDGES
FOR ONLY $5.95

if you join now, and agree to buy as few as 4 additional cartridges during the coming year, from hundreds to be offered

YES, IT'S TRUE! You may have any 3 of the best-selling 8-track cartridges shown here — ALL 3 for only $5.95! That's the fabulous bargain the brand-new Columbia Stereo Tape Cartridge Service is offering new members who join and agree to purchase as few as four additional selections in the coming year.

FREE SUBSCRIPTION TO CARTRIDGE BUYING GUIDE. You'll have no problem selecting four more cartridges because the Service offers you so many cartridges to choose from . . . all described in the monthly buying guide which you will receive free! You'll find hit 8-track cartridges from every field of music — the best sellers from many different labels! You may accept the regular monthly selection . . . or any of the other cartridges offered . . . or take no cartridge at all that month.

YOUR OWN CHARGE ACCOUNT! Upon enrollment, the Service will open a charge account in your name. You pay for your cartridges only after you've received them — and are enjoying them. They will be mailed and billed to you at the regular Service price of $6.98 (Classical, occasional Original Cast and special cartridges somewhat higher), plus a mailing and handling charge.

YOU GET FREE CARTRIDGES! Once you've completed your enrollment agreement, you'll get a cartridge of your choice FREE for every two cartridges you buy! That's like getting a 33⅓% discount on all the 8-track cartridges you want . . . for as long as you want!

[If coupon has been removed, write to Box C for full information.]

COLUMBIA STEREO TAPE CARTRIDGE SERVICE
Terre Haute, Indiana 47808

7348. Also: Little Green Apples, Fool On The Hill, etc.

7272. Also: For Once In My Life, Halfway To Paradise, Till, etc.

7245. Also: Little Green Apples, Moody River, 6 more

7241. Also: Spinning Wheel, Smiling Phases, etc.

7150. Tune in, and turn on . . . as mod as Carnaby Street.

7115. Plus: Color My World, My Love, Call Me, Two Rivers, etc.

7114. Also: By The Time I Get To Phoenix, Honey, 11 in all

7051. Also: You Send Me, A Change, I Take What I Want, etc.

6897. Also: People; The Good, The Bad And The Ugly; 11 in all

1013. Also: Twelfth of Never, No Love, Come to Me, etc.

6415. Folsom Prison Blues, The Long Black Veil, The Wall, etc.

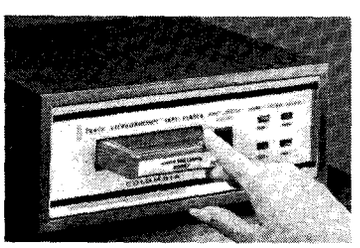
7179. Also: VooDoo, Chile, Rainy Day, Dream Away, 16 in all

6237. Plus: Java, Ebb Tide, Walk On The Wild Side, 26 in all

And if you do not own a cartridge player, we will give you this

8-Track Tape Cartridge Player

FOR ONLY $19.95



FEATURES ● Plays through your home stereo record system . . . no special installation, plugs right into your amplifier or stereo phonograph ● Push-Button Program Selector . . . changes from one program to another with the touch of your finger ● Completely automatic operation ● Overall Dimensions: 11¼" wide x 10¾" deep x 4¾" high

With this beautiful, top-performing Player, you'll be able to add the convenience and full stereo sound of 8-track cartridges to your present stereo record system! Our regular price for the Player is $69.95, yet you may have it for only $19.95, when you purchase your first three tapes for only $5.95, and then agree to purchase as few as twelve additional tapes during the coming year. Check the box in the coupon at right, and note that, if you wish, you may charge the Player to one of your credit cards.

COLUMBIA STEREO TAPE CARTRIDGE SERVICE
Terre Haute, Indiana 47808

Please enroll me as a member of the Service. I've indicated below the three cartridges I wish to receive for $5.95, plus postage and handling. I agree to purchase four more selections during the coming year at the regular Service price, and I may cancel my membership any time thereafter. If I continue, I am to receive an 8-track cartridge of my choice FREE for every two additional selections I accept.

SEND ME THESE 3 CARTRIDGES (fill in numbers below)

☐ ☐ ☐ 450-8/1C

Name _____
(Please print) First Name Initial Last Name

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ Check here if, in addition, you want to receive the Columbia 8-Track Tape Cartridge Player for only $19.95. Enclose your check or money order for $19.95 as full payment. (Complete satisfaction is guaranteed or your money will be refunded in full.) You'll be billed $5.95 for your first three cartridges (plus a mailing and handling charge), and you merely agree to purchase as few as twelve additional cartridges during the coming year at the regular Service price. (Be sure to indicate in the boxes above the three cartridges you want.)

If you wish to charge the $19.95 for your Columbia Player to a credit card, check one and fill in your account number below:

☐ American Express ☐ Diners Club ☐ Uni-Card
☐ Master Charge ☐ Midwest Bank Card
☐ BankAmericard (California residents only)

Account Number _____ 450-9/W6 451-1/X4

Signature _____

© 1969 CBS Direct Marketing Services SC-95/S69

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

from Washington

Kennedy Stands Up

We had a feeling the other day at a Senate hearing that Teddy Kennedy will probably be the next Democratic Presidential nominee. This implied no criticism of Democrats Muskie, Humphrey or McGovern whom we know and like. But Kennedy has the family name – and something else, too. This appeared recently in a curious, low-keyed clash with Everett Dirksen the other day in a committee hearing on civil rights enforcement.

When Everett Dirksen acts the improbable role of Everett Dirksen, with organ voice, flying locks and corrugated face, it can be very funny; the trouble is he is now so familiar with the part that he overdoes it and hams it up. In this case he was trying to browbeat a courteous young Negro lawyer testifying below him in the witness stand – an articulate, Harvard Law graduate, Clifford L. Alexander. Strom Thurmond backed Dirksen up.

Alexander is chairman of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance. We hate to admit it, but we didn't know OFCC existed. It is an orphan agency over in a corner of the Labor Department and it is pathetically trying, without real power, to get government contractors to give fair employment treatment in hiring Negroes, which they are required by law to do. Nearly every indication is that they don't.

The Kennedy and Johnson Administration accepted token compliance and the Nixon Administration probably will, too, unless the pattern is jarred loose by a boo-boo by inexperienced David Packard. He is the handsome new Deputy Secretary of Defense. He is a West-coast multimillionaire industrialist who thinks (as so many businessmen do) that he can solve everything in Washington by just cutting through government red tape.

Contract compliance could be terribly important to minority groups because about one in three US workers is on the payroll of a corporation with government contracts; defense contractors alone hire 25 million. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 requires contractors to give equal racial treatment, but in the South a lot don't, particularly in the textile mills. About the best Clifford Alexander's outfit can do is hold hearings and make threats. The Pentagon brass froths at the idea of contract compliance getting in the way of guns and tanks.

After a year of fruitless negotiations with three large Southern textile firms, Dan River, Burlington and J. P. Stevens, the Johnson Administration actually ordered first steps started in punitive compliance procedure. They were told they risked losing $9.4 million for field-uniform cloth. But a fortnight after taking office, Packard reversed the decision. He had a chat with the textile executives and let the contract go through on an oral understanding. The law requires "a specific commitment, in writing." He omitted it. He did not bother to consult the OFCC or the civilian compliance officials of the Pentagon itself.

So the Kennedy subcommittee set out to see what the Nixon Administration is really doing. Dirksen jumped right into the whir of the TV cameras the first day. Nobody mentioned it, but Dirksen's Peoria law firm has a lot of big corporate clients. "Why," he exclaimed, "there are people walking into Washington every day who are being harassed under this operation!"

His voice lowered an octave as he cited one "large corporation" which he said had spent a million dollars defending itself. On the witness stand Alexander remained respectfully firm. He kept his cool while Dirksen lost his. Ev finally delivered a sepulchral ultimatum, either "punitive harassment is going to stop," he said, "or somebody is going to lose his authority, or I am going to the highest authority in this government and get somebody fired." Dirksen surveyed the room, mouth open. "Now it is this simple," he said. Eyes turned on Chairman Kennedy. He looks more like his mother than his brothers. He is more phlegmatic than the other two. If it had been Bobby he would probably have snapped or snarled as indignation got the better of him. Some inner insecurity made Bobby badger witnesses. If it had been Jack, he might have used irony or satire. Ted Kennedy may have less wit and fire (and maybe imagination) than his brothers. But he is just as tough and under better control. After all the Senate accepted him as a member of the "Club" and at 36 made him assistant floor leader.

Now he spoke impersonally, looking into the middle distance, and ostensibly addressing Alexander. He hoped that nobody had been "threatened" he said grimly "for trying to do the job they are expected to do." The facts showed quite clearly, he said, that major companies are not complying with the law. He praised Alexander's demeanor, saying that this more than anything, showed "you are a reasonable man."

Nobody mentioned it, but Mr. Nixon got less than 10 percent of the Negro votes last fall, and the suspicion hasn't healed. And now here was the official Nixon spokesman in the Senate throwing a few more embers on the fire, supported by Strom Thurmond. The latter helped Mr. Nixon get nominated, and helped hold six Southern states in line for him; states with 67 electoral votes or enough to tip the balance in the 301-191 election. To many Negroes Strom Thurmond is the Simon Legree of US politics.

Kennedy handled himself coolly. If we had been a political scout and never heard of his brothers, we would have made a note of him. Dirksen, twice Teddy's age, sneered at "the sermonizing of my colleague." But when he got back to his office he picked the barbs out. Kennedy quietly told Alexander that "those that threaten you because you are doing your job do a great disservice to you and the American people."

Will Alexander lose his job? He can't be dropped from the OFCC but might be replaced as chairman, which will look like Dirksen's revenge, whether it is or not. The White House must groan over the affair. Nixon can take care of his enemies, but who will protect the unfortunate President from his friends?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts. Volume 160, Number 15, Issue 2833, April 12, 1969. Published weekly (except the last week in December) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 40c. Yearly subscription $10; Foreign $11; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright© 1969 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

Contents

7-12 Comment
American Militarism, ABM Counterattack, Ike the Honest, Sweet and Sour, Kid Gloves and Drugs, Following up on Head Start

13 Desegregation Dilemma in the South – *Curtis Wilkie*

14 When Will Vietnam Negotiations Begin? – *Arthur M. Cox*

15 Washington over the Oil Barrel in Peru – *David Ross*

17 Whose University?: A View from the Other Side of the Fence – *Michael Miles*

20 America and France: Minimum Feasible Misunderstanding – II – *Stanley Hoffmann*

24 Films – *Stanley Kauffmann*

25 Books – Reviews by *Michael Harrington, Gerald W. Johnson*

29 Theater – "Che!" reviewed by *Richard Gilman*

31 Correspondence

The Staff
Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – Alex Campbell
Literary Editor – Richard Gilman
Associate Literary Editor – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editors – David Sanford, Joseph Featherstone, John Osborne
Production Manager – Ira Klafter
Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers
Contributing Editors – Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, James Ridgeway, Paul Wieck
S.E. Asia Correspondent – Zalin B. Grant
London Correspondent – Anthony Howard
Publisher – Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen
Advertising Manager – Holly Reppert
New York Advertising Representative – E. Laurence White Jr., Good-Laidley-White
50 East 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10017
Office of Literary Editor – 17 Charlton St., New York, N.Y. 10014

American Militarism

General David M. Shoup, former Commandant of the United States Marine Corps, has set forth his views on "The New American Militarism" in the April issue of the *Atlantic*. His statement, somewhat reminiscent of the warning sounded by President Eisenhower against the power of the Military-Industry Combine and coming as it does at the peak of the ABM debates, has stirred up considerable comment. Shoup's message is that "the cult of the gun" is ready to lead us into war whenever and wherever the cultists "suspect Communist aggression." The obvious index of the military's ballooning influence is, of course, the Defense budget itself – $45.5 billion in 1960, when General Shoup became Marine Corps Commandant; over $82 billion ten years later. But the momentous meaning of Shoup's essay lies elsewhere, in what he does not say, in what he did not know how to say, in what he seems not to have observed.

General Shoup, who retired in December 1963 as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, never made the New Team that has been riding high this decade. With his Congressional Medal of Honor and his quiet dignity he was one of the old school. Like the other Chiefs of Staff of his time – Lemnitzer, White, Burke and Decker – he was battle-trained, competent, old-line. His and their era came to an end with the change of Administration in 1961, and specifically with the abortive invasion of Cuba. Shoup was a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the time of the Bay of Pigs, as was General Lemnitzer, but they never participated in its planning. The invasion cast the peacetime military forces in a role for which they were unprepared. When it misfired, some believed, or hoped, that CIA-directed paramilitary operations would be shelved, that a lesson had been learned and firm restraints placed on the gung-ho enthusiasts for counter-insurgency. They were wrong. In the wake of the disaster, President Kennedy appointed a review board (Allen Dulles, Admiral Burke, Robert Kennedy, and Maxwell Taylor). General Taylor, who had left the Army to vent his displeasure with things as they were and to write *The Uncertain Trumpet*, here found an outlet for his energies. When the Bay of Pigs hearings were concluded, President Kennedy made Taylor his Special Assistant and Adviser for Military matters. Both the young President and the ambitious general denied that this assignment would infringe upon the authority of the Chair-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. But the insiders knew better, knew General Taylor, knew he was more a CIA-type operator than an old-school military man. At Fort Bragg's Special Forces Center and in the new Air Cavalry Mobile Divisions at Fort Benning, the new forces began to be formed.

From his position close to the throne, General Taylor rapidly cemented relations between the CIA and elements of the Army. General Marshall S. Carter (Army) replaced General Charles B. Cabell (Air Force) as deputy director, Central Intelligence. John McCone replaced the old master, Allen Dulles, as director. The Army was drastically reoriented; "Green Berets" and Air Cavalry units ascended to prominence over conventional forces. A large number of US Army Special Forces officers were on special assignment with the CIA, or had had assignments with that agency. Many CIA officials were serving in the Defense Department, in both military and civilian roles. General Taylor took over as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Lemnitzer having completed his tour. The man who had stepped down from the Army in a huff was back, bigger than life and in the number one job. The Army-CIA example spread like wildfire. The Air Force rushed to create its own Special Air Warfare units from assorted remnants of the Bay of Pigs resources. The Navy created its own version of Special Warfare units in its SEAL teams and others. With General Taylor it was "Get on the Team" or get left behind. The new President and his brother had embraced the concept of counterinsurgency; the New Team was ready to meet the challenge.

General Shoup and the Marines were not on that team. Although the regular military forces had the highest regard for the Marines as experts in Special Warfare, the Army-CIA enthusiasts passed them by. The emerging team prided itself on its readiness to perform anywhere in the world, "wherever and whenever we suspect Communist aggression," as General Shoup says. To repeat, the vital force in the new militarism was not the traditional military. It was not they who spearheaded the "massive and swift invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965," to which Shoup refers in his *Atlantic* article. It was the CIA-Special Forces elements which opened the door, and were then followed by the regular military, after basic decisions had been made. Even the Marine colonel who opened early contacts with Dominican officials in Washington and later in the Dominican Republic, was working with and through the CIA representatives, not with the military.

CIA, as used in this connection, is the operational organization, not the intelligence structure, and the operational organization was and is well-placed throughout the government. Farsighted Army officers years ago saw the value of travelling the CIA route for contacts, special techniques, and the mystique that went with working in the backrooms of military activities. Lt. Gen. William E. De Puy, assistant vice chief of staff, first served with CIA as a deputy division chief in 1950 and 1951; Lt. Gen. W. Raymond Peers was chief of CIA clandestine training in 1949 and the head of Western Enterprises, a CIA cover, in Taiwan from 1951 through 1953. Assistant Secretary of State William Bundy started out in CIA on the intelligence side, wandered over to Defense, then to State, where his specialized training was put to use. Robert Komer went from CIA to the White House, then to Vietnam as an Ambassador in charge of "pacification." The decision makers on the New Team today are not necessarily members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff or residents of the Pentagon. They are at the White House on the Executive Office Building staff, in the CIA, perhaps in State, wherever the power gravitates. In the days of Arthur Goldberg, they were to be found in the Labor Department too.

The deepening involvement in Vietnam was part of the scenario. Until very recently, the US ambassador to South Vietnam was key man in all policy making, military and political. Recall the eminence there of Ambassadors Nolting, Lodge and Taylor. The generals, Harkins and Westmoreland, were responsible to the ambassador. That arrangement was necessary, because another US Government agency, the CIA, was in many ways as influential in Vietnam as the military from 1955 through 1963. The ambassador was the channel for transmitting decisions affecting the military *and* the CIA. The "cult of the gun" of which General Shoup now speaks was the cult of this New Team, and it played the dominant role in "steering us into the tragic military and political morass of Vietnam."

There are other examples of the New Team's enterprise. When serious border troubles broke out along the northern frontiers of India, Pakistan, Nepal and Bhutan in 1962, an old soldier, General Paul Adams, founder and commanding general of the US Strike Command, headed a US military mission that made an urgent visit to New Delhi. In the last analysis, however, the CIA team, practically ignoring Ambassador Galbraith and General Adams, had things their way. The Indian police were trained under CIA, not

COMING: "Thorns on the Yellow Rose of Texas"— another report on poverty in the US, by Robert Coles and Harry Huge

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

US military direction, but were supported with US military equipment and manpower, among them many Special Forces troops.

In Laos in 1962, the CIA was again in control, using Army and Air Force elements in considerable strength as it saw fit. That unproductive intervention, "Dick Bissel's War" it was called, then moved lock, stock and barrel into Vietnam, by which time the campaign was well staffed with civilian/military veterans from Greece, Iran, Guatemala, India, Laos and other paramilitary zones of action. A review of the cast of characters in the early days in Saigon would have turned up the same principals who had been with Ambassador Lodge and General Van Fleet in Greece, with election advisers for President Magsaysay in the Philippines, with the Dalai Lama in Tibet, with the U-2 all over the world, and with the fledgling "Green Beret" factory at Fort Bragg.

This ultra-powerful, paramilitary joint venture within our government is now dominant. That is what General Shoup does not say. It can and did direct the movement of troops in the Dominican Republic without the restraints and caution normal to the officials of State and Defense; it thrust into that small country a force much larger than required or reasonable. This power and freedom to move large forces quickly without the usual review by proper authority resulted in the first entry of troops and equipment into South Vietnam in the early sixties. The Marine Corps and the Air Force objected at the time to the oversize movement of helicopters into Vietnam, when the Vietnamese could not operate or support them. They went anyway, causing a large and unwarranted buildup of troop strength, ostensibly present to help the Vietnamese fly helicopters. The US was up to its neck before it knew it; then it was too late. Once the CIA-directed first step has been taken, elements of the military forces vie with each other in playing the game, as in the Bay of Pigs, or the Congo, from which the US barely extricated itself. The same can happen any time in the Middle East, Asia, or Latin America.

Courtesy of General Eisenhower and General Shoup, a corner of the rug has been lifted. What is hidden is more ominous than what is seen. "The New American Militarism" is not the most apt description of the forces at work. This is a new form of energy, which sets off major impulses through deft and adroit maneuvering. The maneuvering goes on at a level above the Cabinet and under a cloak of security, precluding that interplay and balance which we thought were embodied in our form of government, and it is buttressed, as General Shoup states, by a "relationship between the defense industry and the military establishment," which together "form a powerful public-opinion lobby."

Here is the subject for the Great Debate this year and next in the Congress and in the country.

ABM Counterattack

The President had it dead right: he is not going to get his ABM system without a knockdown fight. And he may not get it then either. A tentatively named National Committee for Common Sense is being formed to oppose ABM deployment, at the instigation of Senators Edward Kennedy, John Sherman Cooper, Charles Percy and Phil Hart. A large number of eminent scientists are enlisting. (Two of them, Herbert A. York and Wolfgang Panofsky, charge that their views have been misrepresented by Under Secretary of Defense Packard.) In Montana and North Dakota, proposed sites for the initial ABM installation, many of the local citizens are unhappy and are saying so to Congress.

The Administration's brief becomes curiouser and curiouser. Secretary Laird asserts without proof that the Soviets are "going out after our deterrent force," and that we are thereby obliged to begin deploying an ABM. Secretary of State Rogers, however, says something quite different: "Suppose we start our talks in a few months and the first thing that's said by the Soviet Union is, 'Let's do away with our defensive missiles!' We'd have no problem. We'd be delighted." But Mr. Laird's whole case rests on the urgency of protecting our retaliatory forces against a Soviet first-strike: to offer to do away with our ABM *without a simultaneous agreement on offensive missile levels* is to imply that that Soviet threat does not exist. Moreover, if ABM deployment is as peripheral as Mr. Rogers implies, why begin it before negotiations start?

Secretary Laird would like to live in a world in which one takes no risks. Who would not? But the best one can hope for is some rational control over levels and kinds of risks that are inevitable. The greatest danger in Mr. Laird's provocative pronouncements is that if he has misinterpreted Soviet intentions (as many responsible people believe), the Russians may read his warnings as a prelude to an *American* effort to achieve a true first-strike capability. They could no more accept that complacently than we could. Mr. Laird would then have the dubious pleasure of seeing his projections confirmed, but as a response to his own incendiary interpretation.

At any rate, the logic of Mr. Laird's alarms is that we should have not a thin "safeguard" system covering two missile sites, but a "thick" system, plus sharp increases in offensive strength, especially multiple warheads on our missiles (MIRV's). That is what would be required if we faced the serious first-strike threat the Secretary postulates.

No arms-control agreement can be reached with the Russians if *either* side seeks a first-strike capability: one side's ability to strike first is equivalent to the other side's inability to defend itself. The danger at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this moment is not that the Russians seek to attain that advantageous position of absolute superiority, but that the US might. Mr. Laird has shown no desire to reach agreement prohibiting development of MIRV's; and though ABM deployment may not necessarily inhibit an agreement prohibiting or controlling MIRV's, MIRV deployment by both sides will inevitably lead to a "thick" ABM system.

Given the difficulties Mr. Laird and his cohorts have had in justifying their proposal, it is not surprising that they are now relying for support on "new" information, heretofore known only to a few columnists and other such military experts. One would imagine that government deriving its power from the consent of the governed would in such critical circumstances of life or death, make known its "information" so that the people could judge. Instead, the Administration has tried to frighten the country, claiming there's no time to lose – that the "worst" will happen the moment the Soviet Union has something that we do not have. That's plain fraud. The time margin is not nearly as precise and significant as is suggested; none of these weapons systems has been adequately tested; each is surrounded by uncertainty; no one is going to take the incredible risk that they will all work perfectly and thus deliberately start a nuclear war.

If the US seeks strategic superiority – which the Soviets must contest – instead of strategic parity, hopes for productive negotiations with the Soviets are meager. Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kissinger prefer a "sufficiency" of arms, but that term can readily serve as a euphemism for superiority. Parity implies tangible recognition of the fact that the quest for superiority has no finite conclusion; parity is a judgment about the kind of "'sufficiency" we need here and now. It hardly begins to settle the details of any eventual arms-control agreement, but the concept of parity is enormously significant psychologically, which is what deterrence is all about.

Ike the Honest

The judgment, so common last week in the evaluation of Eisenhower, that he was a good President and a great general was more in fashion after he died than when he lived. Many, among them some of his military peers, tended in the years of reflection upon World War II to deprecate Eisenhower the general on the ground that the grand strategy of the war was decided in Washington and London, and Eisenhower was merely the executant of orders issued by other men. But this is rather like deprecating Julius because it was Rome that sent Caesar to Gaul. The argument that Eisenhower was a mere tactician, not a strategist is frail, but, accepting it for the purpose of argument, the fact remains that he fought two of the most gigantic campaigns in which American arms were ever engaged with only two important errors, the Kasserine Pass and the Bulge. Both were due to an incorrect evaluation of intelligence reports, and in both instances the outcome was determined, not by the extent of the error, but by the speed of the recovery.

It was not a mere tactician who, in Africa, in Sicily, and in southern Italy used the reputation of the great British Eighth Army as Lee used Stonewall Jackson, not to deliver the knockout blow, but to draw the enemy off balance so that the Sunday punch could be landed by the untried, but huge American army. It is not beyond belief that future historians will marvel at this far more than at the Normandy landings and the Battle of France, and Eisenhower may yet be classified with Lee, Napoleon, and Marlborough, rather than with the sluggers, Grant, Wellington and Zhukov. In any event, he won, which is the final test of a general.

The American people thereupon did him great honor, but no favor, by electing him to the Presidency, a position for which he was not fitted either by temperament or by training. He emerged from the ordeal with more credit than did the other soldier-President, Ulysses S. Grant. In retrospect, it is astonishing that a man who had spent 40 years in the army, the equivalent of a nunnery as far as political training is concerned, did no worse than Dwight Eisenhower.

The explanation is not simply that he liked to be liked – and was. It is the basic honesty that made him blurt out, in what may well be called his Farewell Address, his fear of the growing power of the military-industrial complex. He entered the White House with the military man's characteristic respect, nay, reverence for the business tycoon and only by slow and doubtless painful degrees did it begin to come home to him that the lords of the market and the Pentagon cannot be trusted with control of the Capitol and the White House. But when he did realize it he announced it. And when he realized he had been wrong in saying, as President, that population control was none of the government's business, he said so, in a letter to Senator Gruening in 1965. His candor was endearing. "You see," he said of himself in retrospect, "a poor sort of stupid fellow sitting behind a desk and wonder why he couldn't do better than that."

In the simpler, slower-moving world of the 19th century, Eisenhower would, perhaps, have found the task of political leadership less taxing, yet he deserves a monument, though it is the last thing his heart desired: ruffles of drums and fanfares of trumpets caused him more impatience than delight. Possibly the finest inscription we could carve upon it would be Othello's understatement: "I have done the state some service, and they know it."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sweet and Sour

Last week a group of Southern civil rights leaders wired President Nixon from Atlanta that they were still awaiting, with doubts that they would get it, "a strong, public commitment to require full compliance with the Civil Rights Act by September, 1969." They were talking about school integration and they said that if the Administration's recent show of "uncertainty and political opportunism" continues, "school segregation in the South will be reaffirmed and re-entrenched for many generations to come."

This was a justified exaggeration. By the latest federal count, all but 352 of 4,529 public school districts in the border and lower South are in at least technical compliance with laws, court orders and administrative orders requiring an end, soon in principle and sooner or later in fact, to separate "black" and "white" school systems. Most (251) of the holdouts are in South Carolina, Arkansas, Georgia, and Mississippi, and the rest are in seven other Southern states. Federal funds for their schools have been denied to 130 districts, with the typically ironic result in one Mississippi county described on page 13 of this issue. It is in these districts, more than half of them populated by black majorities, that the Nixon Administration confronts the test of its intentions and has brought upon itself the kind of complaint lodged from Atlanta.

A good deal of the Administration's trouble arises from the illusion that it can sweet-talk the South's white segregationists into accepting some integration – if not this year in every district, as had been intended, anyhow by 1970 or maybe 1971. The Administration's chief sweet-talker is Robert H. Finch, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, who has made himself directly available to powerful Southern complainants in Congress and in the hard-core states. Last week, after considerable delay, he chose for the director of his department's Office for Civil Rights a young man on his staff named Leon Panetta, who as an assistant to former Senator Thomas Kuchel of California had a hand in drafting the Civil Rights Act of 1968 and is esteemed by civil libertarians who know him. His first act was to say that he hopes to call a conference of the district officials who have forfeited their federal aid "and describe to them how desegregation has been accomplished and what kinds of plans are open to them." HEW enforcers have been doing just this with these gentlemen for years, without visible result. Messrs. Finch and Panetta will find in due course that the intimations of lenient treatment implicit in such tactics only sour those who have hoped for solid relief from the requirement to integrate and, in the end, do not get it. The most they have gotten so far from the Nixon Administration, in return for minimal integration this year, is permission to delay a serious approach to full integration until the autumn of 1970 – less than enough to satisfy them, and more than enough to alienate those who see in such concessions the "uncertainty and political opportunism" discerned by the Atlanta group.

Trying to have it both ways in matters of civil rights, the Nixon Administration succeeds only in puzzling everybody. Attorney General John N. Mitchell, not Secretary Finch, was expected to be the Administration's principal equivocator, or worse, in this field. Yet his Civil Rights Division and its vigorous new director, Jerris Leonard, intervened the other day, in behalf of black complainants, in a Chicago suit aimed at compelling the white exploiters of black home buyers to return excess profits to their victims. Civil rights spokesmen who have conferred lately with Finch and Mitchell have come away feeling better about the Attorney General than they do about the Secretary. The President, perhaps aware that something needs to be done to repair Finch's reputation for enlightened goodwill, directed him and two White House assistants, Daniel P. Moynihan and Arthur F. Burns, to participate in Memphis on April 4 in the memorial observance there of the first anniversary of Martin Luther King's murder. It was a nice gesture, no doubt sincerely meant. But Americans concerned with and for human rights are not about to settle for gestures, any more than Americans of another sort are about to settle for Mr. Finch's sweet talk.

Kid Gloves and Drugs

Montgomery County, Maryland, fifth richest in the country in per capita income, can afford to deal with its drug problems in a special way. A parent who suspects his child is taking drugs can call the police for advice without getting the youngster arrested. When parents do call, according to Police Inspector Fred Thrailkill, "we tell them that our basic purpose is to stop the supply [of drugs] and to aid the user who needs our help. Although some parents still believe police only arrest, it is encouraging to see more and more parents and teenagers coming to us for assistance." Thrailkill speaks affectionately of "our people" and "our children" and rejects such pejoratives as "pusher" when talking of Montgomery County adolescents who sell drugs. They aren't the usual kind of dealers. They give drugs away or, at worst, sell them at cost "as a service." Crime associated with drugs, particularly with expensive addictive drugs such as heroin, doesn't exist in Montgomery County, where

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a small increase of heroin use has recently been observed. People find it hard to believe, Thrailkill says, but many secondary school students in Montgomery County have allowances from their parents of $25, $30 or even $50 a week, and it's almost customary for them to get new cars on their 16th birthday. There is no need to steal or commit other crimes to get money for drugs. Shoplifting in Montgomery County is done by housewives – and thieves from the District of Columbia – not by teenagers who need money for a fix.

Narcotics arrests have increased substantially in Montgomery County in the past few years, as elsewhere. In 1964, 11 juveniles were arrested on drug charges; in 1967, 57; in 1968, 154 (95 for marijuana). But an arrest in Montgomery County doesn't mean what it does in other places. Seventy-nine of the 154 minors arrested last year never went to court. The courts quite often give probation without verdict to those who are tried, turning the children over to their parents and their parents' private psychiatrists. Thrailkill and Lieutenant John Bechtel of the Juvenile Aid Section, both favor giving probation to first offenders, including adults of 23 and 24.

Thrailkill prefers to treat the drug problem educationally. Montgomery County police gave 117 talks to PTA's and other groups last year. It helps, he thinks, but he's still not sure. "If you stand up in front of a group of youngsters as a police officer and tell them something," says the Inspector, "they're not going to believe it."

Following up on Head Start

Dr. Robert S. Mendelsohn's forced resignation as director of the American Academy of Pediatric's consultation service for Head Start followed by one day his appearance before the House Committee on Education and Labor March 24. The Chicago physician is not a cautious advocate. He had expressed himself in graphic terms, pleading that poor children who have gone through preschool training under Head Start be permitted to receive the same kind of special attention after they enter the first grade. It was, he suggested, a matter of spending more money.

"Using a medical metaphor," Dr. Mendelsohn told the panel headed by Rep. Carl D. Perkins (D., Ky.), who is a poor boy from the hills himself, "I might say that it is like a doctor who gets a child with pneumonia and saves his life, and when the child leaves the hospital and walks out on the street . . . a speeding truck runs him down and kills him. This is what is happening to our Head Start children."

Convinced that Head Start, on which the federal outlay under the Office of Economic Opportunity was about $323 million in fiscal 1968, has been successful, Dr. Mendelsohn did not want his charges simply turned over to the conventional school system. He feared any advantage they might have gained would be lost there. The alternative he suggested was to set up a separate "Head Start School System," which would operate parallel to the traditional system. As things are, he said, the children now in Head Start "are faced with the deadening atmosphere of public schools next year." If Dr. Mendelsohn's recommendation were carried out, improbable in the present budget squeeze, $700 a year more would be spent on each child – the difference between the $1,400 spent on Head Start children and the average outlay for children in the regular public schools.

"In Head Start we have made a promise to the poor children of America," the 42-year-old doctor, a graduate of the University of Chicago School of Medicine, said. "I think that it is time for us to begin to keep this promise."

Dr. Mendelsohn's criticism of the public schools got him into grievous trouble with the second-ranking Democrat on the committee, Rep. Edith Green (R., Ore.), a former teacher. But Chairman Perkins, also a former teacher was delighted with the testimony. Dr. Mendelsohn opposes shifting Head Start from OEO to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. So does Perkins.

The next day, officials of the American Academy of Pediatrics asked for and got Dr. Mendelsohn's resignation from his $26,000-a-year, full-time post as the man in charge of the academy's $500,000 contract with Head Start. For about two years he has ramrodded a program in which some 660 physicians devote part of their time to Head Start children. The academy officials said their action was not the direct result of Dr. Mendelsohn's testimony, but resulted from "conflict over a broad range of administration and policy." Chairman Perkins blasted the academy for a "shameful and undemocratic course." Senator Gaylord Nelson (D., Wis.) expressed shock at the forced resignation and invited Dr. Mendelsohn to appear before the Nelson subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty.

There seems to be no doubt that Dr. Mendelsohn did an excellent job. He is described as tremendously energetic, enthusiastic, dedicated.

A Denver pediatrician, Dr. Ray Helfer, a regional medical consultant for Head Start, said Dr. Mendelsohn had been "most effective" but also paid tribute to the professional academy for being "very forward-looking in its willingness to take on this program. Dr. Mendelsohn was aggressive in many areas and his labors resulted in the development of a highly successful marriage between private medicine and a federal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

program. This is most encouraging. I am personally convinced that asking for Dr. Mendelsohn's resignation was . . . a culmination of a number of situations which resulted from his feeling that he had to be aggressive to get the program underway."

Back at his offices in Evanston, Ill., outside Chicago, Dr. Mendelsohn was ebullient and hopeful that Head Start would keep going. He did not want to see Head Start children consigned to "black holes of Calcutta called public schools" where their dietary, medical and dental needs might not be attended to. The trouble with many of our cherished institutions, he thought, is that they work the wrong way when it comes to the poor. "The hospitals keep them from getting healthy, the schools keep them from getting an education, and the welfare agencies keep them from getting money."

Desegregation Dilemma In the South

Clarksdale, Mississippi

When HEW declared the segregated Coahoma County, Mississippi's school district ineligible for further federal aid, it triggered the dismissal of 62 black teachers and classroom aides. The teachers and aides were laid off because they had been hired under a program started through appropriations under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act earmarked for "target" schools attended by a high percentage of pupils from low-income homes. Coahoma County had been using these funds for the last four years to reduce the pupil-teacher ratio in its nine all-black schools by adding instructors.

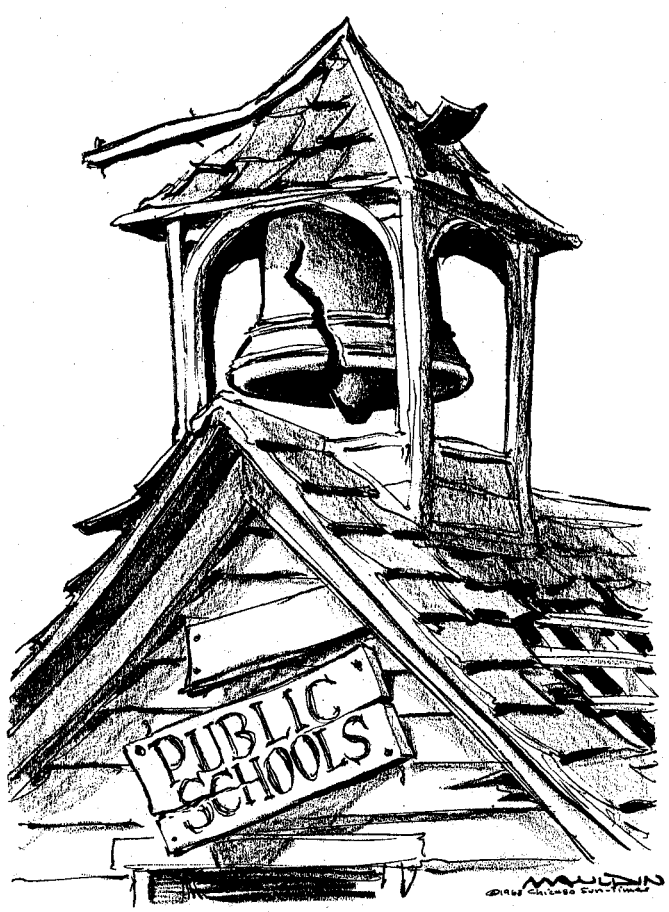
The National Education Association, entering the dispute on the side of the ousted teachers, plans to negotiate with HEW and prevent a recurrence of situations where only black schools are hurt by the withdrawal of federal aid, because white school officials have failed to integrate.

Meanwhile, 50 of the teachers have decided to stay in their classrooms to keep the pupil-teacher ratio from ballooning back to near 50 to 1, where it was in the black schools before the Title I program was started. The school board, which had feared demonstrations by these teachers, has taken no position on their decision, but is not paying them either. George D. Fischer, president of the 1.1 million member NEA, came to Coahoma County March 11 to present the teachers and aides with subsistence grants. He promised continued support and praised their courage. Fischer lambasted the arrangement, which punished the wrong people. "Members of the school board should be removed for violating the law," he said, rather than displacing teachers.

A $25,000 NEA DuShane Emergency Fund is being offered to compensate the affected educators, and they are expected to finish out the year. Prospects are uncertain after that. The teachers have entered a suit against the school board calling for their rehiring and the total desegregation of the system.

Members of the all-white Coahoma County Board of Education find themselves in a dilemma, confronted as they are with the HEW ultimatum and the restive teachers. For more than a year, they had staved off the loss of federal aid in the predominantly Negro district (4,660 black students to 1,130 whites) located in the Mississippi Delta. The trustees had pinned their hopes first on a rider by Congressman Jamie L. Whitten (D, Miss.) which sought to cripple HEW coercion, and later on the chance of a more sympathetic Republican Administration. The Whitten rider was defeated last year, Nixon's election has not appeared to make much difference in the drive toward desegregation, and Coahoma County has now become the fortieth district, out of 153, in Mississippi to lose federal funding because of recalcitrance.

Curtis Wilkie



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When Will Vietnam Negotiations Really Begin?

Shadowboxing in Saigon

by Arthur M. Cox

There is a glimmering of potential progress toward peace in the flexibility manifest in the testimony of Secretary of State Rogers before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and recent remarks of South Vietnam's President Thieu at his press conference. But both sessions demonstrate that the Nixon Administration has not yet untangled the policy knots hampering any serious negotiation. There are many reasons for this, but the principal ones are a chaotic ambiguity about US objectives in Vietnam and a desire to avoid US responsibility for the political process of ending a war, one side of which has been run by the US.

Neither the policy ambiguity nor the negotiating responsibilities of the US can be resolved by the two-track theory of Henry Kissinger (reaffirmed by Secretary Rogers), under which the US will negotiate military withdrawals with Hanoi, leaving the political settlement to be worked out by Saigon and the NLF. We cannot, and should not, abdicate responsibility for political negotiations, trusting them to Generals Thieu and Ky and the National Liberation Front. We cannot and should not because their positions are so incompatible that compromise is impossible without our participation. Nor will the North Vietnamese agree to mutual withdrawal of troops until the political future of South Vietnam has been settled. It is stargazing to think that the Communists will permanently withdraw from a struggle which they have waged for 25 years, without something to show for it. The US may be in a position to withdraw some of its troops unilaterally, but it would be a shabby deception to give the impression that such a partial withdrawal does anything other than temporarily appease public frustration and anger. A partial withdrawal without a political settlement will only perpetuate the present bloody stalemate.

Both sides are hurting in this war, but neither is hurting enough to surrender tomorrow, nor is there any reason to believe that, given the nature of the war, either side will give up soon. The only way to end the war is through political compromise. This means a bargain over how much of a role the Communists will have in Saigon. The best way to decide that question is by a genuine free election, which both the US and the Communists say they favor. The main dilemma is how to govern South Vietnam during the period from cease-fire and troop withdrawal to election. Clearly, some interim government acceptable to both sides will be required. Such a government will never be formed, however, if its composition is left to Generals Thieu and Ky and the National Liberation Front.

The ambiguity of our aims has occurred because we have been trying to win a war for an anti-Communist government, while professing that we want only self-determination for the people of South Vietnam. A settlement based on self-determination would obviously have to include Communists and Communist supporters, reflecting their real strength in the South. But Thieu and Ky are categorically opposed to Communist participation in any government. At his press conference, President Thieu said that the NLF could have no part in post-war politics until it was dissolved and renamed. He stressed again that the Constitution of South Vietnam "opposes Communism in any form." He said that NLF members could only participate in the electoral process "provided they agree not to practice any Communist ideology." I leave it to the reader to determine what that phrase means.

President Thieu is a practical politician. He knows that unfettered participation of the NLF in the politics of South Vietnam would bring his career to an end. He has been elected under the provisions of a Constitution that US experts helped to draft, for a period that does not end until September, 1971. He is delighted when Secretary Rogers says the mechanics of any future election ". . . [have] to be worked out between the South Vietnamese and the NLF," because that gives Thieu a veto ensuring his continuity in power. The issue can't be straddled. The US must choose between supporting Thieu and Ky and thus prolonging the war, at least until late 1971, or using its influence to reach a settlement with the Communists based on genuine self-determination, which

---

MR. COX, *one-time senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, was a contributor to* Vietnam After the War, *recently published by Brookings.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would almost certainly end the ascendency of Thieu and Ky.

If the US decides to follow the latter course, real negotiations in Paris can begin, it being recognized that though Saigon will have a role, the lead will be assumed by Washington. Having made this decision there will still be the question of whether Hanoi and the NLF will accept a settlement based on peaceful self-determination. They are well aware that the Geneva Agreements of 1954 provided for free elections, which were never held because of US blocking action. They will be extremely cautious about again accepting a solution based on elections guaranteed by an international presence. But, unlike then, this time the US will be a party to the agreement, making prospects for successful implementation more favorable.

Whether a settlement based on a genuinely free election can be accomplished will depend considerably on the negotiating strength, skill, and patience of the US. The bargaining lever of the US is the presence of 540,000 troops in Vietnam, which the Communists would like withdrawn. That is why it is so important that the US not unilaterally withdraw troops until the terms of settlement have been agreed upon. If this approach is followed, the war might end with a real choice available to the people of South Vietnam – the very objective for which the US and the Communists say they have been fighting.

Washington over the Oil Barrel in Peru

by David Ross

The Peruvian oil muddle, which the Nixon Administration is attempting to resolve, is a classic dilemma. The Peruvian government is right and wrong; the US should and should not impose sanctions. The oil company is sinned against and sinning; the "rights" are generally right for the wrong reasons, and "wrongs" tend more to be inadvertent or unpremeditated than deliberately vicious. There is no graceful escape.

The basis for the dispute is the La Brea y Pariñas oil fields, which passed into private ownership in 1826, in the wake of Peru's war of independence. The law of the land, in the Spanish tradition, reserves subsoil rights to the state; all other petroleum-bearing properties in Peru have been developed in accordance with this law. But a special act of the newly independent and bankrupt government in 1825 provided for the settlement of financial claims against the state by the deeding over of government property; and on September 28, 1826, to settle a debt of 4,964 pesos, the tar pit at La Brea y Pariñas became the property of one José Antonio de Quintana, who promptly sold it to José de Lama, the owner of the surface rights.

In 1873, a law was passed requiring all persons who claimed ownership of mineral rights to present their titles for revalidation. By this time, La Brea y Pariñas was the property of Juan Genaro Helguero, a second generation heir of José de Lama. Helguero, presumably interested only in the agricultural use of the property, neglected to comply with this law, or with one of 1877 imposing a special tax on mineral properties. In 1886, for reasons that were soon to become clear, Helguero suddenly became anxious to reassert his lapsed rights, and on January 26, 1888 his title to the subsoil minerals over an area of 1,300,000 square meters was recognized by the courts, in a decision based on one article of a mining law, which in another article explicitly limited petroleum properties to a maximum of 40,000 square meters. Eight days later, Helguero sold the property to Herbert Tweddle, who in 1890 sold it to William Keswick, the founder of the London and Pacific Petroleum Co. The price was $150,000.

The transaction naturally outraged, and has continued to outrage, patriotic Peruvians. The proper pockets had been lined, however, and no official action was taken until 1911, when a claim for unpaid taxes was presented to the British firm. By 1922, this claim had worked its way up to the International Court of Justice for arbitration. A settlement was worked out under which Peru cancelled all claims in exchange for a payment of $1 million. The title now being apparently clear, the International Petroleum Co., which had been operating the property under contract for the past ten years, purchased it from London and Pacific. International Petroleum is a subsidary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, and it was at this point, 98 years after mineral rights had passed into private ownership, that American interests first became involved. If illegal conversion of the property was involved, International Petroleum was not the thief; but if sovereign Peruvian rights were at long last to be asserted, against whom else but International Petroleum could they be pressed?

The Company has stated, presumably with intended irony, that "the words and actions of the Military Junta mean that past governments—over more than 40 years—failed to defend the Nation's sovereignty and dignity."

The difficulty is, of course, that the value of the resource and the validity of the claim have tended to increase jointly with the passage of time. When Quintana got his tar pit, there may or may not have been a constitutional question involved, but who cared about a 4,964-peso tar pit? By 1886, interest in petroleum had heightened, but not to bonanza proportions, and by then the claim had been sanctified by 60 years

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of uncontested existence. By 1922 the internal combustion engine was firmly entrenched, and the value of oil resources was becoming apparent; but the claim had been reviewed and validated in the Peruvian courts, and the case before the International Court was only a tax claim, not directly involving the question of ownership. The arbitration decision was accepted by the then government of Peru, driving another nail of validity into the title.

Second thoughts led, in 1932, to the passage of a law authorizing the President to reopen the case; but the authority was not employed. It was, finally, in 1963, in fulfillment of a campaign promise, that the newly elected government of President Belaunde declared the International Petroleum mineral rights title null and void. The succession of governments that had failed, over 75 years, to defend the Nation's sovereignty and dignity, was at last at an end. It remained only to work out the details of the transfer. But these details included not merely the routine bargaining question of how much compensation was to be paid, but by whom and to whom payment should be made.

If the title had, as the government now decreed, never existed in law, then the Company had been a squatter for 40 years, draining away for its own profit an irreplaceable natural resource that rightfully belonged to the people of Peru; and if, at the same time, the Company had in good faith and for a fair price acquired a property whose title had government sanction, and had subsequently invested heavily in permanent improvements to the property, then it had a case for compensation. The issue was settled, after five years of bargaining, by a compromise: the Company gave up its title, and the government gave up a claim for $140 million in back taxes; the Company could continue in operation, but henceforth on the same basis as all other oil companies in Peru. The compromise, however, was one that left no one content. The Company had not recognized the tax claims, so it did not feel compensated by their cancellation; and the Peruvians, who did regard the claims as valid, felt that they had compensated the trespasser for his damages to them – and moreover, that he was still on the property. It was the Peruvian discontent that led to the coup of last October 3. And it was the coup that set the stage for the involvement of the US government as an active participant in the drama.

Belaunde had been one of the Latin American good guys: he had come to power in a free election, and he was committed to social and economic reform as envisaged in the Alliance for Progress. Washington had had to slap his wrist a couple of times, most recently for buying some jet fighter planes from France; but by and large, he was on the side of the angels. This was shown by his forebearance and moderation in pressing his claims against International Petroleum. He could see their side; he could recognize their equity; he could deal with them in a reasonable and business-like manner. And he had been as ineffective as most of the other good guys in Latin America. There are problems that good guys are not equipped to solve, and they abound in Peru. The urgent problem of land reform is not in essence different from that of the La Brea y Pariñas mineral rights. The Indians were robbed of their land, but the present landowners were not the thieves. A reasonable man will try to negotiate a compromise, and will earn the disillusionment of the Indians and the enmity of the landowners. An unreasonable man, one who cannot see both sides of an issue, will take a stand on one side or the other, and will end up with a constituency for himself, and with some movement for his country. Such movement may be either forward or backward; but even backward movement is sometimes better than a stalemate, since it can at least lead to a new starting point.

There are indications that the present military Junta in Peru is a revolutionary government: it has nationalized the International Petroleum operation, spoken of revolution, and concluded a trade agreement with the Soviet Union. These indications are, however, superficial and misleading. Apart from nationalistic fervor, useful in enflaming popular support, the principal basis for opposition to International Petroleum in Peru has been the economic self-interest of the right, not of the left; it was the Company's competitors, not its employees, whose wishes found fulfillment in the action of the Junta. International Petroleum has been, for many years, not only Peru's largest taxpayer, but also its most dynamic force for social and economic progress. It has regularly met the wage demands of a Peking-oriented union; it has been a leader in low-cost housing development, education, medical care, and the development of recreational facilities for the poor. Its activities have set a standard that other employers, basing their operations more on cheap labor than on technological efficiency, cannot and do not meet.

The final element in the dilemma is that the United States has no choice other than to support or to subvert the Junta; it cannot stand aloof. If we express our disapproval by cutting off aid, we amputate a major sector of the Peruvian economy; if we continue aid, we bolster the regime in power.

There is no way to escape from this Hobson's choice. If something can be salvaged from the ruin, it is a lesson for the future. If we had said to Latin America, as we said to Europe in the aftermath of World War II, "get together, devise a plan, set up the machinery for its execution, and we will provide the funds," then we would not today be in this muddle. The dilemma would still exist, but it would be a Latin American dilemma, to be resolved by Latin Americans. The tar pit would still be there; but the United States would not be Brer Fox.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A View from the Other Side of the Fence

Whose University?

by Michael Miles

According to radical students, university faculty are not the university; they only *work* for the university. The university, say the students, is the management and the trustees who run what amounts to a research-and-development corporation, a major "growth industry." The faculty, they say, is a privileged class, bought off with good salaries, long vacations, leaves of absence, fringe benefits, opportunities for lucrative consultantships, and most important of all, control of their immediate affairs such as curriculum and the state of their guilds. The faculty is privileged but not powerful – because it is cut out of the crucial matters of *institutional* concern, such as investment decisions, budget priorities, and product innovation.

This rude revision of their image (no "community of scholars" engaged in the "disinterested pursuit of truth"?) is hard for the faculty to bear – especially hard, because some professors have suspected as much, even discussed it over coffee but, of course, never expounded it over public address systems. It is, then, because of student radicals – those wretched, scruffy student leftists – that faculty have been cursed with the worst of existential afflictions: self-doubt.

After the first university crisis has passed and then a second and a third, the professoriate must resolve its crisis of confidence in one way or another. And since, as Populists used to say, "self-interest controls," the faculty, especially the tenured gentry, turns against the students. Although its law-and-order dalliance with the administration goes some distance in disposing of the student movement as a political force on campus, it does not eliminate it as a tumor in the brain. For the evil spirit to be exorcised, for student radicalism to be truly dismissed, it must be *explained*. Thus, in a great ink wave welling up from the San Francisco Bay Area in 1964, rolling across the plains to the Hudson River and Columbia in 1968, sociologists, historians, and political scientists have analyzed the students in the scholarly journals, the intellectual magazines and in their books. This enterprise is not only counterattack; it is group therapy. It relies heavily on historical analogies. Cultural historians, for instance, are fond of comparing the modern student left to the Russian Nihilists of the late nineteenth century. They point out that the Nihilists were politically isolated, university-based, revolutionary, unprogrammatic, and of course nihilistic. Social historians however (and Bruno Bettleheim), prefer to compare the "neo-fascist" student movement to the Nazi paramilitary organizations of the 1920's. There is, they say, the same obsession with direct action, the myth of violence, the revolutionary claims without substance. Another recent favorite is comparison to the revolutionaries of 1848 – international, middle-class, university-based and somewhat inept.

When the critics of the student movement attempt political analysis, which is not often, they generally caricature what they observe in terms of student obsession with conspiracy theories (the "Establishment," the "power structure," "corporate capitalism" and so forth). A theory of conspiracy would attribute enormous discretionary power to certain circles of politicians, corporate executives and bureaucrats. But the radical viewpoint is precisely the opposite of this. It is that the men of power are creatures, not rulers, of the institutions they inhabit; policy decisions are the results of choices among a narrow range of options determined by the structure of institutions, bureaucracies and finally of the corporate capitalist system itself. If anything, the fault of this radical student viewpoint is not that it is conspiratorial but that it is rigidly deterministic. A social theory which ascribes all manifestations of a society to the nature of its social structure is impaled on its own horns when it attempts to develop an alternative social vision based on freedom.

Young radicals have tended to swing from the issue-oriented pragmatism of some years ago to a comic-book Marxism in which they connect the Vietnam war to corporate capitalism as a system, not by analysis, but by a leap of faith. This connection, especially if thought of as a purely economic relation, is clearly false in the case of the Vietnam war. Still, an entire generation of US policy-makers *has* intervened against social revolutions in Guatemala, Iran, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Vietnam on the basis of some conception of "vital national interests." One ought to examine the social system which invites this counter-revolutionary formulation of national interest, rather than falling back on a "politics of inadvertence," in which policy-makers happen to roll snake-eyes every two or three years.

The pluralists and end-of-ideologists who attribute a conspiracy theory to the student left often employ

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its family cousin, a theory of elite manipulation, in their analysis of student revolts. For example, in an article in *The Public Interest* on Columbia, Daniel Bell, a Columbia sociologist, discovered that SDS with a membership of a hundred not only precipitated but effectively directed the occupation by 2,000 students. Furthermore, a small Maoist Progressive Labor faction "increasingly dominated" SDS as events proceeded. By implication, a small band of pop revolutionaries led a student rebellion involving thousands – through a coordinating committee "bureaucracy," no less. The *Cox Commission Report* was a pleasant surprise to radical students and a rude shock to the Columbia administration and its faculty allies, when it rejected this "conspiracy of student revolutionaries."

For academic analysts who have spent their careers studying structures, organizations, economies and social mechanisms, it is exceedingly difficult to grasp the character of the student left as a *movement*. As such, the student left draws unto its bosom an infinite variety of SDS New Leftists, left-liberals, old leftists, frauds, hippies, social democrats, freaks, pacifists, humanitarians, anarchists, opportunists, idealists, adventurers. Every critic of the movement is able to confirm his own worst fears with some set of incidents, publications and individuals. Because there are among the student left, young representatives of old left sects, often of left-wing parentage, the anti-communist liberals are out in force to do battle with what they take to be the sons of Frankenstein. Because the Pop Left is expert at "media theater," professors feel themselves under imminent threat of invasion by mind-blown barbarians and may be hardly aware of the role in radical politics played by their own graduate students.

SDS, old left sects, and the Pop Left are and are not the student movement. People reared in leftist traditions are significant as leaders and spokesmen because of their schooling in leftist politics. Their influence will diminish as the radical student movement grows and its members acquire greater political sophistication. There are, no doubt, cases of elite manipulation by steering committees. Manipulation is not characteristic, however, because the student movement does not organize; it materializes around some issue, then vanishes. Without mass organizations or disciplined cadres (SDS hardly qualifies as the latter), elitists are left groping for something to control. The really successful campus revolts have been unplanned, spontaneous creations of events, dominated not by individuals but by a mood. Columbia SDS, for instance, was notoriously weak *ante-bellum*.

The strength of the student movement lies in this spontaneity and a common rejection of a social order. It is also this spontaneity, variety, amphorousness – an almost spectral quality – which make it so hard to distinguish between what is transient and what is enduring, what is accidental and what is essential in the movement. It suffers the fault peculiar to any radical movement – a psychology of radical one-upmanship, which strengthens the position of political adventurers, pop revolutionaries, and ultra-leftists. Despite this, the movement's development over what is, after all, a very short span of time – five years or so – has been toward a more, rather than less rational assessment of American society. Nor is there any iron law of leftward momentum that requires that the student movement hurtle over the edge into an abyss of revolutionary nihilism. At Berkeley, which has the longest history, there is an open split between radicalism with a rational analysis and program and "militancy" empty of political content, according to which its not whether you win or lose, but how you play the game. There is no consensus on the relevance of "guerrilla warfare" or the imminence of "revolution." It has not entirely escaped student radicals that the requirements of military organization for revolutionary warfare would undermine the conditions for the construction of the free society they want.

What appalls the faculty, ultimately, is not any particular failing of the student movement but simply direct action politics in a university setting. Since most faculty feel that order and quietude are basic requirements for research and the making of their names, they are natural allies of the university *status quo*. The English professor who did not want Columbia transformed into "some, scruffy Latin American university" expressed with more passion than logic the faculty consensus on this point. Faculty often claim that "free inquiry" is threatened by student strikes and campus disruptions, but the temporary closing of a university and such disruption of classes as has taken place have not been directed against any particular forms of inquiry. Except in the case of war research (hardly an academic field of inquiry), disruptions have not been *selective* against points of view. It is as if employers were accusing unions of threatening the right of "free production" by strikes, picket lines and scuffles arising from them. The object of these disruptions is not to destroy the manufacturing plant or the university but to effect changes in them.

Senior faculty are prone to take student talk of democratic control of the university as a threat to professional guild control of teaching, curriculum and personnel. White students *are* somewhat interested in sharing control of teaching and curriculum, hardly interested in hiring and firing faculty, and mainly concerned with the institutional policies of the university in regard to war research, race and institutional expansion. Black students, however, in their call for black studies programs at Wisconsin, San Francisco State and elsewhere have demanded total autonomy within the university and student/faculty control of curriculum and personnel. These demands are less a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

function of political theory or educational principles than of race and the blacks' perception of white universities and society as essentially hostile.

Faculty are generally committed to the "natural hierarchy of knowledge," a notion which students would concede up to a point in regard to curriculum, where they would generally be content with a minority voice. It is less clear how this "natural hierarchy" affects general university policy. As it stands, most university faculties are either powerless to affect university policy, or they influence it only in an advisory capacity, or in the administration of decisions made elsewhere. The more politically sophisticated faculty justify such arrangements as "functional differentiation," in which the knowledgeable parties determine policy in their spheres of interest. Administrators "naturally" control university policy. Faculty are "naturally" autonomous in the area of curriculum and promotion. And the students – quite unnaturally – are powerless, although the consistent exponents of this view are willing to concede student control of curfews, lunch-lines, dormitory regulations and the like. This Great Chain of Being – a place for everyone and everyone in his place – is appropriate ideology for the faculty, who will often cite the importance of the medieval traditions of the university. The radical students, they will say, are wrong in claiming that the university is enmeshed in the operations of the society at large. Like the medieval Church, these presbyterian professors will say that the university is in, but not of society. Otherwise, it could not serve Pure Reason.

The explanation fails at several points. It hardly explains the ultimate authority of boards of governors, who usually know little about the university. It assumes that men in power are disinterested in their use of authority, as it affects those to whom they are not accountable – especially students. It ignores politics.

The otherworldly justification of the university is also used in extremely disingenuous ways. The Academic Freedom Committee of the Berkeley faculty justified *un*-classified war research on grounds of academic freedom that protects "scholarly work from having to pass moral or political tests." The committee noted, "Results of striking importance and vast benefit to mankind have emerged from work that appeared at the outset to be mundane or morally suspect – even from research into instruments of warfare." In maintaining a view of the university as sanctuary, professors have simply not read their Clark Kerr. The University of California receives over $200 million from the Atomic Energy Commission – nearly as much as the entire amount appropriated by the state of California – to do work on nuclear explosives. In terms of dollar volume of contracts, MIT and Johns Hopkins are among the one hundred major military/aerospace corporations in the United States. As of 1966, Stanford, Columbia, and Michigan had over $10 million in Defense contracts. In relation to the universities, the military/industrial complex is not "conspiracy theory"; it is reality.

The more imperially-minded of the academic mandarins extend their functionalist vision of the university to the point that the university becomes future society in microcosm. In some future time of astonishing technological and economic development, the whole world will be one vast, transistorized automated university. As education is the "new factor of production," society will be rationalized beyond the ken of politicians, corporate executives and the like who currently rule it. The technocrats and men of intellect will finally come into their own: men of power instead of mere intellectual auxiliaries. It is a questionable vision. But as Zbigniew Brzezinski has said, "many intellectuals tend to be frustrated power-seekers."

Because student radicals will have no place in the new order and already attempt to frustrate its realization, these academicians continue, the student revolution is actually reaction, not in time with these forthcoming profound social and economic transformations.

It is characteristic of these academics that they should expect a mass movement of students to be moveable seminars in social theory. In fact, the radical students' failure to develop a refined analysis and detailed program is the failure of academicians and intellectuals whose job that is. In any case students base their hopes for a free society, just as the scholar/bureaucrats base their expectations of a new medieval synthesis, on fundamental transformations. These students assume, as their critics do not, that the replacement of an economics of scarcity by an economics of abundance will create new possibilities for social freedom. They assume that advances in communications and transportation technology require not only organization and bureaucracy, but also increase the opportunities for decentralization and democratic control. And they assume that all of these possibilities will be obstructed by political interests, grounded in past necessities and oppressions. As a new generation of scholars and thinkers begins to appear, as it has, the development of program and the refinement of analysis will accelerate. In preinvasion Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, this momentum was expressed in philosophy by a "socialist humanism" founded on a concept of human freedom. In economics, it was expressed by "market socialism" which expounded means to reduce the authority of the state and to decentralize power; in politics, by the desire to construct "socialist democracy" in which people may speak and act freely and in which industrial enterprises are controlled by workers' councils. In this country and in Western Europe, the formulations of philosophy and politics are not so far advanced. But the student movement is international and the spirit is the same.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Minimum Feasible Misunderstanding—II

America and France

by Stanley Hoffmann

It is important for us to understand de Gaulle's game in Europe. After Czechoslovakia, many observers thought that the lesson he would draw from it was the need to give up the dream of "détente, entente and cooperation" in all of Europe, for the reality of West European integration and for the imperative of West European reenforcement (through Britain's entry). This is not what happened. For de Gaulle, West European unity was never an unconditional goal, a good thing in itself. It is good, as long as it leads to a West European entity capable of pursuing its own diplomacy and strategy, i.e. of defining an independent design (which includes the reunification of the continent) and of acting accordingly (which rules out, in his eyes, supranational "confusion"). This implies sooner or later – exactly as he told Britain's Ambassador to France, Mr. Soames, both a complete overhaul of NATO (to be replaced ultimately by an alliance between the United States and the West European entity) and an *adieu* to the notion of a supranational government of Western Europe. Should such an entity prove unachievable, i.e. should France's present and potential partners refuse to accept de Gaulle's vision of it, should they prefer to leave European defense in NATO's hands, and cling to the Monnet conception of Western Europe, he would then prefer a small but independent France, using the freedom of maneuver lesser powers derive from the nuclear stalemate, to being "integrated" in the cage of a larger, more powerful, yet actually neither independent nor coherent European Community in which America's automatic yes-sayers would prevail.

Thus, even after Prague, he has continued to resist Britain's entry *unless* Britain accepts, not merely the economic provisions of the Common Market (which, as he also indicated to Soames, he knows would be *de facto* transformed by the enlargement of the community) but also his politico-military conception of Europe. As long as Britain refuses to discuss this with him, he will continue both to veto her entry into the EEC, and try to thwart her own attempt to outflank him through the West European Union. There, the British, cleverly exploiting the post-Czechoslovakia trauma of West Germany, try to beat him on his own procedural and substantive terrain: that of a common strategic and foreign policy for West Europe, defined in a classic, inter-governmental way. In the WEU, (whose role is to examine those very issues that are beyond the EEC's jurisdiction and that de Gaulle wants settled as a *préalable* to Britain's entry into the EEC) they have rallied the other Five to *their* conception, or rather to their more evasive approach, thus isolating him. But this tactic, and the British exploitation of his offer of direct Franco-British talks (an offer partly aimed at averting such encirclement, but partly aimed also at testing their conception of Europe) could only confirm him in his own conviction that Britain's entry would destroy, not enhance, whatever chances might still exist for his design of a "European Europe."

If Harold Wilson was afraid that de Gaulle's offer to Soames was a trap, all he had to do was ask de Gaulle whether the French objected to Britain's informing the other Five of it. Instead of which, the British communicated it to them, and to us, behind the back of the French, accused de Gaulle of attempting, by his offer, to split Britain from West Germany and America, yet acted as if they intended to harm Franco-German relations and to torpedo the Franco-American rapprochement! If Britain was at all interested in de Gaulle's conception of Europe, it should have accepted de Gaulle's offer to Soames; for it is indeed on Franco-British diplomatic and military cooperation that the fate of Western Europe ultimately depends: only France and Britain are actors; most of the other powers are too weak and Bonn is partly an actor, partly a stake. Britain's current policy is easy to explain: the British don't want to join Europe on de Gaulle's terms, expect the terms to change when he disappears, and try to isolate him while he is around. But this is a risky gamble; moreover, if de Gaulle's conception is anathema to Britain, Western Europe will not – as long as de Gaulle is here – go beyond its present disarray: a price *he* is quite willing to pay.

Nor has he, despite Czechoslovakia, abandoned his call for improved relations with Eastern Europe and Russia. For to give it up would have meant implicitly, vindicating the West German (or French) Atlanticists, and perhaps encouraging, in West Germany, those nationalists who believe that the "bridge-building" tried by de Gaulle, Johnson and Brandt and deemed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

subversive by Moscow, should be replaced by a direct Soviet-West German deal. As long as the doors between the two halves of Europe are shut to Bonn but not to Paris, de Gaulle can hope to keep Bonn from dropping Brandt's policy and from following either of the two courses that would destroy France's long-term hopes in Europe: a renewed Bonn-Washington axis, grounded in a return to the "Western priority" (as against reunification), that existed in Adenauer's days, or a new Rapallo, grounded in despair at ever gaining reunification through loyalty to the West. Moreover, should Bonn resign itself to the finality of Germany's division, not only would the greatest attraction, for Bonn, of de Gaulle's vision of a "European Europe" disappear, but Bonn would both find itself closer to Britain's acceptance of the European *status quo* than to de Gaulle's rejection of it, and emerge in Central Europe as a purely national state no longer held in check by its own hope to gain reunification through self-restraint. Finally, de Gaulle wants, so to speak, to be present in Moscow as a potential *interlocuteur* for a European settlement, not only in order to keep the West Germans in line, but also so as to prevent an exclusive Soviet-American dialogue over Europe. Thus de Gaulle must act as if, in Debré's unfortunate words, Czechoslovakia were a tragic road accident, no more. That the road to a reunited Europe, whether or not it is a dead end, should presently be traveled only by a French *Renault*, due to Soviet and East German roadblocks against Bonn's *Volkswagen*, and reticence toward American *Fords*, cannot displease de Gaulle.

This long account was necessary in order to illuminate the nature of America's choices. There are three possibilities. The first is a kind of minimal strategy: we try both to have improved relations with France, and to preserve our good relations with our NATO allies. In order to do both, we stay out of the great debate on Western Europe's future, we carefully avoid taking sides in disputes such as the de Gaulle-Soames affair, we tell the West Germans clearly of our interest in solid Franco-German relations, we bless Britain's attempts at getting into EEC without putting any pressure on anyone on their behalf. This would have the great advantage of extricating ourselves from intra-European squabbles. The Europeans could apparently no longer either denounce or enlist us, we would concentrate on our really vital interests – the preservation of Western Europe's military security, and negotiations with Moscow over strategic nuclear forces. At the same time, Bonn's possible impatience with Germany's division, or Bonn's mental depression that would result from a gradual, grudging resignation to that division, would continue to be contained and managed by Bonn's ties to the West: to NATO, to France, to the EEC.

This is a sound policy in the short run; President Johnson's prudent handling of the European issues in 1966-68 already put us on this course, which Mr. Nixon followed in his tour. The trouble, however, is that it does not really help solve any of the issues that have led to the Western disarray. To be sure, we cannot solve them ourselves; but what we do, or fail to do, can contribute to or detract from a solution. Ultimately, *we* will have to decide whether a West European entity, based on a rapprochement between Bonn, Paris and London, is or is not in our interest. If we decide that it is not, or that we can do nothing about helping it emerge, we will again find ourselves, sooner or later, exposed to the contradictory pressures and recriminations of our allies, caught between a Gaullist vision that seems anti-American to many (here and in Europe) and the anti-Gaullist appeals of many of our European friends. Our weight, our presence in Europe make it impossible for us, so to speak, to play absent. West European fragmentation will continue to feed the vicious circle of American overbearing activism, excessive dependence of some West Europeans, excessive rebelliousness of some others: three kinds of irresponsibility. A situation in which Bonn's most powerful Western ties are those with the United States, given Western Europe's own divisions, could be dangerous, both because we could become all too easily the target of German resentments if the failure to reunify can be once more explained by the rigidity or militancy of the "Bonn-Washington axis," and because we cannot afford to give to Bonn the kind of privileged position that might disrupt on the one hand our attempts at reaching certain arms control agreements with the Soviets, and on the other hand our good relations (and Bonn's good relations) with London and Paris. The rapprochement with Paris would remain precarious and limited. We have been coasting along for several years already. Can we continue until *after* de Gaulle – if, as he says he will, he stays in office until *after* the American elections of 1972?

If we decide that a West European entity is in our interest, that England would otherwise be deprived of any legitimate role in the international order, that West Germany might otherwise be tempted by a most unsettling nationalism of its own, that such an entity could either serve as a magnet toward Eastern Europe, and thus contribute to eventual European reunification, or else serve as a strong framework for Bonn, if European and German reunification fails to occur, we would still have to choose between two courses of action – one tending to perpetuate our presence, and one tending to diminish it gradually.

The first would consist of supporting Britain's current line: of deciding that the Gaullist vision of Europe

---

STANLEY HOFFMANN *is professor of government at Harvard University and co-author of* In Search of France *and author of* The State of War. *This is the second of two articles.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cannot serve as the basis of a West European entity, for none of the other West European nations endorses it, and it ultimately entails both a scrapping of NATO and a scrapping of supranationality that we cannot approve. Moreover, why should we come to the rescue of de Gaulle just as his authority gets increasingly challenged at home? We could still make it clear that we look forward to a West European organization, including Britain, based on the EEC model in its economic aspects, and on the West European Union in its military ones, with the military organization playing the role of a "European caucus," or voice, within NATO. This would, obviously, be a return to George Ball's vision of Western Europe's future. It implies either a (most improbable) French return to NATO, or a French willingness to use the WEU as the collective instrument of a West European strategy that would remain subordinated to NATO. It does not address itself explicitly to the problem of a separate West European nuclear defense, although there could be, within WEU, some coordination between Britain's and France's nuclear forces. It would mean that the French would have to give up the *préalables* de Gaulle had raised to any development of a West European entity – what for, and under whose direction? They would return instead to the pre-de Gaulle mix: American overall leadership, plus the setting up of a specific West European process that would, somehow, grind out its purposes empirically and gradually.

Should this be our preference, it would mean giving up any hope of a fundamental rapprochement *with* de Gaulle, for the expectation of a rapprochement on these lines *after* de Gaulle. Most of our State Department experts can be expected to argue this course, or to support, at least, the minimal strategy while de Gaulle is around, so as to reduce conflicts with him, before returning to past orthodoxy as soon as he leaves the scene. They have always been convinced that de Gaulle is merely an aberration and that – as Paul Reynaud yesterday and Georges Bidault today have assured us – France after de Gaulle will come back to Jean Monnet's notion of a powerful, supranational West European entity within the Atlantic partnership.

My own disagreement with this is based on three objections. One, I do not read the French political scene in so simple-minded a way. De Gaulle's current troubles have very little to do with his foreign policy, and any post-de Gaulle government (except a left-wing one, which, depending on Communist support, could hardly be expected to be very "Atlantic") will be to a considerable extent bound by de Gaulle's acts. Although its manners and tactics may soften, and it may say "yes if" more often than "no unless," it is unlikely that its objectives will change. Two, the old "dumbbell" conception pays too little attention to the problem of European and German reunification. Why the Soviets should ever loosen their grip over the Eastern half of Europe as long as the Western half remains militarily dominated by the United States has never been made clear. As the evolution of two of Bonn's three major parties shows, the West Germans are not all eager to revert to Mr. Ball's formula: to such a conception, they are likely to prefer a more independent stance, which could minimize the hold of American and West European ties on them, and give them at least the appearance of greater freedom of movement toward the East. Three, the enthusiasm which propelled Monnet's conception of Europe is gone. De Gaulle's successors may not share his phobia of sovereignty losses and supranational civil servants. But, de Gaulle or no de Gaulle, the supranational process does not work well if the geographic and functional scope of the enterprise expands: there must be either a leap into real Federalism (most unlikely, should Britain join) or a return to tough inter-state bargaining. A third choice, therefore, would consist, for the American Administration, of recognizing a) that any new steps toward West European cooperation depend on a minimum acceptance of the Gaullist vision; b) that the long-term interests of the United States and of the main West European nations can be reconciled on such a basis – especially as, after de Gaulle, those features of Gaullism to which the others object most, such as his tactics and his uncompromising stand against any kind of majority rule among states, are tied to de Gaulle's own personal style, and likely to fade away; c) that we certainly cannot and should not force the Gaullist vision on reluctant Europeans, but can facilitate in various ways the gradual development of a West European entity, based on the cooperation of Paris, London and Bonn, and endowed with a strategic and foreign policy of its own. The following changes of policy would be required on our part.

One, we should avoid protesting too loudly at the thought of the kinds of commercial arrangements between Britain and the Scandinavian states on the one hand, the Common Market on the other, which represent the limit of what the French accept at present. Such arrangements can be seen as discriminatory by us, but insofar as they would constitute a first step toward an enlargement of the European Economic Community, we should tend to minimize our displeasure. After all, we have previously accepted such forms of discrimination when they served a political purpose that we approved of. Moreover, if we protest too much we will encourage the British in their present attitude of all or nothing – full fledged membership or complete outsider, a most unrealistic stand, even for bargaining purposes.

Two, precisely because it is in our long-run interest to have a strong West European entity that will not have to rely forever on us for every aspect of its defense, we should avoid in the future putting on West

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Germany and to some extent on England, the kind of pressure that leads their defense establishments to rely primarily on American armaments for their forces, and pushes their own weapons manufacturers into frequently exclusive partnership with their American counterparts. There will be no West European defense system without much more cooperation among West European (including British) weapons producers. Ultimately such a defense system will require specialization and standardization of West European armaments. We should do nothing to prevent this, even if this involves some sacrifices in arms sales for us.

Three, a future West European defense system will never emerge if we insist that the present military structure of NATO is sacred. Given the divisions and inhibitions of West Europeans, so many of whom cling to the present organization as if they wanted to be permanently liberated from greater responsibilities of their own, we must go farther and initiate the gradual transformation of the Alliance's military structure, for otherwise we may have to wait a very long and wasted time for West European initiatives. The transformation which is needed would loosen up the present military integration, i.e. the actual subordination of European armed forces to largely American commands. This would make a gradual rapprochement between the European members of NATO's military organization and France possible. The West European Union could serve as the framework for such a gradual and quiet transformation, if it is made clear rapidly to all its members that the immediate purpose is a rapprochement with France, and the ultimate goal is a separate West European organization allied to the United States. The reluctance of Bonn to stop clinging to the most powerful member of the Alliance, Britain's perennial doubts about the necessity for Western Europe to have an organization for defense other than NATO's, France's suspicion that we want to preserve our predominant position – all this has to be shaken so that the rapprochement between those three countries becomes possible.

Four, the emergence of a West European military and political entity remains tied up with the problem of nuclear weapons. Even though Britain has on the whole dismissed the notion of a European nuclear force, the French continue to believe that there is no point building a West European entity if it has not some kind of a deterrent of its own. It remains impossible to see how a national nuclear deterrent can be meaningfully "integrated" or supra-nationalized. In these circumstances, the only logical solution to the puzzle lies in British-French nuclear cooperation within the framework and at the service of a West European political entity. Here again American initiatives are required. We should find some way of encouraging Britain to engage in serious talks with France over nuclear cooperation. A French government convinced of our willingness to accept the notion of an Anglo-French deterrent cooperating with our own, a British government convinced that we would prefer such a solution to the politically onerous and militarily indifferent special nuclear relationship between Washington and London, could then begin discussions on what remains in my opinion a precondition for Britain's entry into the West European community.

All these measures represent drastic changes of policy. When President Nixon went to Europe last month, nobody could expect him to have made such decisions already – hence the fine atmosphere. Should he follow the course advocated here, he would undoubtedly first have to give explanations to the British and reassurances to the West Germans. Otherwise the former will never be disabused of their belief that England can both force its way into EEC and maintain its privileged position as lieutenant of the United States; and the Germans will otherwise interpret an American policy shift as a potential danger for their security, which is the last thing we should either intend or let them believe. We would therefore have to make it clear to them that the transformations in question would not weaken our nuclear guarantee, or affect our nuclear forces in Europe.

The gradual emergence of such an entity would make it possible for us – Americans and West Europeans – to engage the Russians in serious negotiations on arms control in Europe, without provoking the usual anguish among West Europeans. And it would put the main responsibility for a long-term effort toward European and German reunification where it belongs: not on our shoulders, nor into the Germans' hands, but into those of all the West Europeans. Whether a West European organization leads or not to reunification, it would relieve us of many of the psychological and military burdens we have carried in recent years. For we have, in a way, combined the disadvantages of hegemony, with those of dominating, not satellites, but essentially free, i.e. restive nations. Will we be willing to revise our past policies so deeply, and substitute a complex, long and ambitious design (in which our final purpose is to curtail our own role) for the combination of simple, grand, American-dominated designs and *ad hoc* emergency measures of the past? If the answer is yes, there will be a rapprochement, not only between de Gaulle and us, but also between the various West Europeans – one that will continue after de Gaulle and make the transition to the post-de Gaulle era in France and Europe easier. If the answer is no, the present rapprochement will be fragile, and the relations between the US and France will, at best, be those of a "minimum feasible misunderstanding."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on films

Goodbye, Columbus

Paramount

Philip Roth's novella has been made into a film that follows the story fairly closely and uses much of the dialogue; yet it ends up as one of those pictures (*Decline and Fall of a Birdwatcher* was another) that is superficially faithful and intrinsically false to its original. Producers used to make obvious mincemeat of the novels and plays they filmed; now they are more circumspect. So goes the middle-class cultural revolution. Exteriors now have "integrity"; only interiors waver or truckle.

Neil Klugman, lately out of the army, is working in a public library when he meets Brenda Patimkin, a rich Radcliffe girl on her summer vacation. (The locale has been changed from Newark and Jersey suburbs to the Bronx and Westchester.) They have an affair. In the fall he visits her in Boston and finds that she has – probably deliberately – allowed her parents to learn of the affair. Given the conventions of their society, this forces Neil out of Brenda's life. The only alternative would be to force him in – as husband and son-in-law in the business – which he doesn't want. He leaves.

So much thousands of Roth's readers know, and they'll find it all in the film. They'll also find a lot of laughs and a few touching moments. But there are two big flaws. First, the year has been updated from Roth's 1956 to the present. This is ridiculous. The last 13 years have brought enormous changes in young people, in the quality of their affections and disaffections. Merely to put in some chat about the Pill doesn't update a mid-50's story that is socially acute in its setting. A small point: Can there still be today a big-university graduate who, like Brenda's brother, collects Kostelanetz and Mantovani records? More important: the incident of the Negro boy who comes into the library to look at Gauguin seems phony today. Not that it couldn't happen; anything *can* happen; but its use here seems coyly humane. (In fact, it's even one of the novella's few weak spots: a slightly strained attempt to give Neil a chance to show compassion, since he doesn't otherwise express much of it.) But the film's anachronism is sealed by Neil's state of mind and the story's climax. The Neil in this 1969 picture is still very much an Eisenhower drifter; nothing that happened in a decade and a half – sit-ins, assassinations, revolts, Vietnam – is expressed or implied in anything he says or does. Yet he is portrayed as barometric to his *Zeitgeist*. Similarly, it's hard to believe that today Brenda would no longer be able to bring Neil home, unaffianced, simply because her parents knew she was sleeping with him. The only way that Roth's story can still hold – as it does hold in print – is as a period piece. A period is a decade nowadays, at the most.

Second, the film is hyperconscious of what Roth takes in his stride: his Jews and their Jewishness. Roth concentrates intensely on what Neil does, sees, hears, and thinks, and, because Neil is Jewish, in a certain time and society, as are most of his friends, a certain American-Jewish society is in the novella. But the film concentrates at least as much on milieu as on character. The producer and director and screenwriter are feeling so courageous at making a non-complimentary picture about Jews that they can't restrain their courage. When Neil goes to the Patimkin house, all the family eat noisily. (Except Brenda, and why is she an exception?) When the father reaches for food, the camera is on the table and his hand looms up like a steam-shovel. (Roth tells us that the family heaped and gorged, but Neil's feeling is not the ludicrous disgust that this film dinner evokes.) Examples could be multiplied. No choice in the casting of the peripheral roles, no reading of a line, no framing of an action fails to proclaim that the Jewish producer and director and screenwriter are pulling no punches. But Roth didn't punch at all.

The director is Larry Peerce, who made *The Incident*, which unfortunately I didn't see, and *One Potato, Two Potato*, which unfortunately I saw. He is another brightnik who goes to the movies so much that he hasn't yet had time to become Larry Peerce. His film is saturated with other films. The very first shot – a huge close-up of a girl's navel (she's in a bikini) – is right out of Godard's *A Married Woman*. Memories of Truffaut bedeck the falling-in-love scenes. With Gerald Hirschfeld's unsubtle color camera, Peerce pretties up a park sequence and supplies the obligatory slow motion when Brenda runs (almost) naked to the pool. With Ralph Rosenblum's rather tense assistance, Peerce edits by "linkage" (à la Pudovkin): he cuts from the steam of an overheated car to the steam of a pot on a stove. The trouble is that neither the car nor the juxtaposition itself has a bloody thing to do with the film. He edits by "collision" (à la Eisenstein): he cuts from two bodies coming together to a tight close-up of a red roast of beef on the dinner table. But what for? What does it do *besides* shock? There is even a reminder of *The Graduate*. Early in Nichols' film Anne Bancroft's naked body is reflected briefly in the glass over her daughter's portrait as she tries to seduce Benjamin. Here, Peerce's camera follows Brenda from bed to bathroom until it reaches her father's picture on the bedroom wall, hanging right over a mirror in which Neil can be seen in the bed. Nichols wanted his touch to be subliminal and was, obviously, willing to let you miss it rather than pound it. Peerce makes damned sure that you get it. He shows some ingenuity, but, so far, he's short on taste and *tone*.

He does have a feeling for the pace of dialogue. And he handles the last meeting well, in the Boston hotel bedroom. Here he uses large profile close-ups of Brenda and Neil for the first time, alternating on opposite sides of the screen, and the images support the pyramidal feeling of the scene. Then he dollies in slowly on Neil, cutting back to Brenda a couple of times, which heightens the sense of her trying to delay Neil's realization of what she has done.

Richard Benjamin, the Neil, provides more of the performance that I saw in a Broadway comedy called *Star Spangled Girl* (one act) and in a TV comedy series (10 minutes). He has vernacular skill and neat party-patter timing, but he reads all his lines to the same effect: the sensitive youth with a defense of sharpness and indifference. The best thing about him is that he creates a

(Continued on page 33)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Michael Harrington: Who Are the True Redeemers?

The Agony of the American Left by Christopher Lasch

(Knopf, $4.95)

Fifty years ago there was a dynamic socialist mass movement under the charismatic leadership of Eugene V. Debs. It seemed quite probable that this country would follow the European model in which a small working-class party gradually extended its influence and became a leftwing contender for political power. But by the twenties the socialists were driven to the margins of society, and even the dramatic breakdown of capitalism in the thirties did not restore them to the influence they commanded in 1912. The decline has been explained in many ways. Long ago, Werner Sombart argued that socialism in America would founder on reefs of roast beef and apple pie. More recently, Daniel Bell wrote in *Socialism in American Life* that the Debsians had been in the world but not of it, spurning the good in the name of the best, rejecting reform for a distant, misty revolution. Bell's theory of the "end of ideology" generalized this thesis, holding that all the grand theories of the Left had become irrelevant in an affluent society in which change was the pragmatic work of experts rather than the vision of seers.

But, perversely, in the 1960's some millions of American youth turned their backs on the roast beef and apple pie; they committed their lives to democratic change, and they sought ideology. And yet, they created a mood, a dynamic, not a radical party. Smug assumptions about the disappearance of American socialism have been subverted, but it is not clear what form this new Leftist consciousness will take.

In his new book, Christopher Lasch tries to identify the causes of the earlier socialist failure; he makes a critical, but sympathetic, analysis of the New Left; and he puts forward a program for American radicals. Although I agree with some of his points, I have serious disagreements with others, and for that reason I should make two things clear at the outset. Lasch is committed to rational dialogue on the Left and is as critical of his friends as of his enemies; this is a real contribution to these times of rhetorical overkill on the Left. Secondly, he raises most of the crucial problems and that is a gain even when one does not accept his answers.

For Lasch, the failure of the American Left, after the high hopes of the turn of the century, had two main sources: the co-opting of Populist and labor radicalism by the larger society; and the sectarianism of the Socialists (and Communists). In his view the unions, the agrarian militants, the feminists and the blacks became narrow interest groups and lost their social idealism. And, he says, the Socialists and Communists of the twenties "imposed on their movements an ideology from European experience and tied organizationally to the fluctuating political requirements of the Soviet Union." "The mood of 1919," Lasch writes, "was not unlike that of 1968, except that the glamour of the Communists has now been transferred to the advocates of guerrilla warfare, as the center of world revolution shifts from Moscow to Peking and Hanoi."

Both these points are persuasive as far as they go – but they don't go far enough. For even before the October Revolution in Russia provided American ultra-Leftism with its most dramatic argument, sectarianism was at work among the nation's radicals. By opting for the dual unionism of the IWW, for instance, it may well be that some of the labor firebrands drew enough strength out of the AFL to guarantee victory for Gompers pragmatism there (the socialist caucus got nearly 40 percent of the votes for the presidency of the Federation just before the First World War). The tactics of the Left did indeed contribute to the conservatizing of some of the important social movements, as Lasch holds. But was this simply an error in subjective judgment? I think not.

America, as at least some of the Leftists of the time understood (one of the most prominent was Jay Lovestone, then a Communist leader), is an "exceptional" society compared to Europe. The absence of feudalism and the presence of a frontier, homesteading as an escape from the class struggle, and a casual cultural attitude toward violence which would have appalled a disciplined Marxist in Europe, are among the economic and historic factors that affected radical consciousness in this country. I am particularly sorry that Lasch did not place his insight in this larger setting, since his analysis of the difference between the Marxist and populist (Charles A. Beard) theories of class interest is one of the most succinct, brilliant summaries of the subject that I have read. I wish he had applied his subtle methodology to the socialist decline.

I have a similar criticism of Lasch's discussion of the black movements in American history. *The Agony of the American Left* over-values Harold Cruse's *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, and in the process again assigns much too much importance to subjective factors. Cruse analyzes the Negro movement with ethnic categories and values. Specifically, he attributes the failure of the Negro militants to develop a program to the dominance in the Communist Party – and the various fronts – of Jewish Communists. At times this ethno-centered history becomes anti-Semitic. The Communist Party did not take up the anti-Hitler crusade because of Jewish pressure, as Cruse thinks, but because Stalin, on the basis of Russian considerations, ordered the united front in 1935. And there is no serious discussion of the Communist slogan of self-determination in the black belt, in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

part, I suspect, because that Stalinist appeal to nationalism does not square with Cruse's thesis.

If Lasch has too high an estimate of this book, he also understands that Cruse, as well as the ideologists of Black Power, have not worked out a program to implement their values (and, like this writer, Lasch sees much that is positive in black pride, self-organization, etc.). One of the most important, and salutary, aspects of *The Agony of the American Left* is Lasch's insistence on the value of radical theory. He understands that mere personal authenticity and fervor is not enough; he subjects the radical rhetoric of Black Power and New Left militants (with whom he sympathizes) to the same rigorous criticism as those with whom he disagrees.

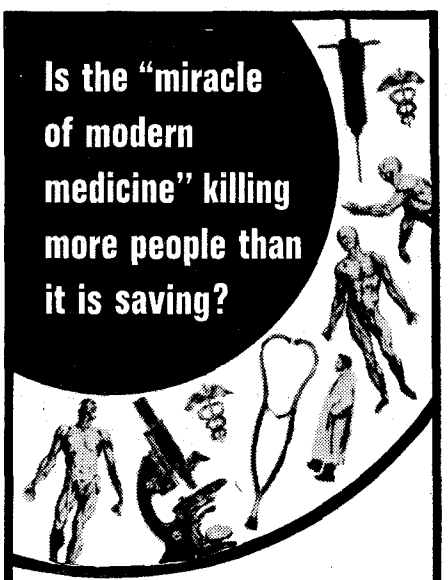
In short, then, Lasch's analysis of the failure of the Left, both black and white, places major emphasis on its sectarian isolation from the actual problems of the people. He does not deal with a significant exception to this rule, the success of Earl Browder's tactic of making the Communists the Left wing of the New Deal and of the CIO, but he certainly has a very serious point.

But when Lasch turns from his radical friends on the Left to the liberals on his Right, he becomes somewhat ambivalant. In his account of liberalism in the age of Joe McCarthy, he sees the liberals as voluntarily doing the work of the corporate, anti-Communist establishment. This derives from Lasch's theory that "the freedom of American intellectuals as a professional class blinds them to their unfreedom. . . . Their freedom from overt political control . . . blinds them to the way in which the 'knowledge industry' has been incorporated into the state and the military-industrial complex. Since the state exerts so little censorship over the cultural enterprises it subsidizes . . . intellectuals do not see that these activities serve the interests of the state, not the interests of [the] intellectual. . . . Their own self-censorship makes them eligible for the official recognition and support that sustains the illusion that the American government, unlike the Soviet government, greatly values the life of the mind."

This pattern, Lasch argues, explains why American liberalism was co-opted by the CIA during the fifties and early sixties. The flaw in this analysis is not in the chronicle of how various liberal intellectuals during the fifties did indeed play the government game – some wittingly, some not – but in the identification of this particular group with the entire non-Communist Left, both liberal and radical. There were those of us around *Dissent* (including, in that period, C. Wright Mills) who kept up a determined attack on precisely the trends that disturb Lasch; there were liberals like James Wechsler and John Cogley and publications like *Commonweal* and *The Progressive* which defended the rights of Communists at the height of the witch-hunt. This is not simply to set the historic record straight; there is a broader point. American liberalism, unlike the varieties of American Leftism, is not a doctrine or a sect, but a mass movement embracing different elements from different social classes, and with a Left, Right and Center. There is a corporate liberalism – but there is also labor liberalism, Left liberalism, intellectual liberalism, etc. In the fifties, some of the most prominent liberal ideologists became subsidized Cold Warriors, and others fought for civil liberties for Communists, fought against the execution of the Rosenbergs, for détente with the Russians, and the like. The New Left, and some of the younger scholars like Lasch, discovered in the sixties that there was hypocrisy and cant among liberals, and tended to write off the entire group. But since liberalism is, for better or worse, the mass Left wing of American society, a systematic antiliberalism on the part of radicals, a failure to discriminate among the trends and potentials of liberals, leads precisely to that sectarian isolation that Lasch deplores.

Lasch does apply this last insight to the present and future, even if he does not extend it to the CIA past. He rightly welcomes the emergence of a "radicalized liberalism" – represented by the Kennedy and McCarthy campaigns of 1968, and described in books like Arnold Kaufman's *The Radical Liberal* and my *Toward a Democratic Left* – which is an ally, not a foe, of the socialist Left. This conception of a liberal-radical front was less obvious in the fifties because that decade pulled many liberals to the Right rather than, like the sixties, pushing them to the Left; but it applied even then. So I feel a tension, if not a contradiction, between Lasch's identification of all liberals of the CIA variety in the Joe McCarthy era and his openness to the potential of liberals in the days of Gene McCarthy.

Lasch believes that "in the long run" the problems of American, and world, society require socialist solutions which go far beyond liberalism. So do I. The question is how to build a new majority party to carry out a basic transformation. Lasch develops some of his views on this issue in the course of a critique of my last book. He believes that a united front of the professions, particularly the academy, and the ghetto could provide the basis for an alternate political movement and system that would develop a "socialism appropriate to American conditions." I



Drug-induced diseases . . . "side effects" . . . Thalidomide . . . hormones . . . antibiotics . . . tranquilizers.

Are these necessary evils of modern medicine? Or are they examples of a blatant disregard for the patient on the part of the medical profession?

Medicine on Trial provides an answer to these disturbing questions in a frank, yet balanced, assessment of what drugs can and cannot do for you and your family.

MEDICINE ON TRIAL

By Dannie Abse

$10, now at your bookstore

Crown 419 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

share the goal but differ on the means. For even if it were possible to unify blacks and McCarthyites, that would not provide the basis for a numerical majority or the organizational cohesion required for transforming the most powerful nation on earth. Without those classic socialist protagonists, the organized working people, there is no hope of a liberal, much less a radical, majority.

Secondly, I do not think that a realigned, liberalized – or radically liberalized – Democratic party is going to create a socialist society. But I do believe that the way toward a new mass movement of the Left must involve the actual struggles of reformers, blacks and unionists inside the Democratic Party. That battle must issue in a new coalition of labor liberalism, middle class (professional, academic and student) conscience, the new South and a black movement, self-organized and self-confident, in a leading role. Paradoxically, I think that Lasch's program would result in a repetition of that very Left sectarianism that he himself attacks. For to start a new party essentially on the basis of the alienation of the intellectuals could once more divide the Left from the mass of the American people fighting for social change.

I find Lasch's book stimulating and provocative, both when I agree and when I disagree with it.

Gerald W. Johnson: Jacqueline's Folks

The Bouviers: Portrait of an American Family by John H. Davis

(Farrar, Straus & Giroux; $10.00)

Other kingdoms expand by war, but lucky Austria by marriage.

The Bouviers should have adopted and adapted this maxim, rather than the honorific of Bayard, in fabricating their ensigns armorial; for *Sans peur et sans reproche* is open to debate, whereas *Bouvier felix nubile* could never have been successfully challenged. So, at least, one gathers from the family history written by John H. Davis, himself a Bouvier on his mother's side. He presents incontrovertible evidence that the Bouviers married exceptionally well and by marriage have multiplied exceedingly, although the male line remained so thin that it has now disappeared from this country. The last man bearing the name is an expatriate living in France.

I must admit that I opened the book with foreboding, expecting to plow through 400 pages at least five degrees duller than the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*. It proved to be, instead, a narrative full of candor, humor and grace, only once or twice plunging into thickets of genealogy wherein the reader loses his way. The people in these pages may or may not be Bouviers, but they are most certainly personalities, always credible, often amusing, and occasionally very admirable indeed.

Finally, there is the incomparable Jacqueline, who added not only a new name but also a new type to the roster of famous wives of American Presidents. Martha Washington, Abigail Adams, Dolley Madison and Eleanor Roosevelt were about as disparate as any four women could be, and Jacqueline Kennedy bore little resemblance to any of them except in achieving a smashing success as consort of the head of state. Martha was regal, Dolley was charming and Jacqueline was both, but in a manner so different that

This remarkable breakthrough in facsimile printing places at your disposal both the versatility of the printing press and the convenience of the copier. If you require only as few as 10 copies, or more than 10,000 reproductions in colored inks and on colored papers, the *Gestetner* process will provide them — right in your own office — with your office girl as operator.

Push-button scanning (*Gestefax*) will image your stencil-masters directly from any subject, typed, printed, drawn, clipped, photographed, or in combination as a 'paste-up layout.'

Consider the savings in both time and money by office-producing the kind of work you once sent to costly outside services.

GESTETNER

GESTETNER CORPORATION Dept. N-4
216 Lake Ave., Yonkers, N.Y. 10703
Send complete details and literature.

Name .....
Organization .....
Address .....
City .....
State ..... Zip .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the similarity is negligible. Of Abigail's intellectuality and Eleanor's altruism she had hardly a trace. Yet her popularity was exceeded only by Eleanor's.

"Jacqueline Kennedy's impact on the public was essentially a triumph of style," says Davis, a sound judgment that would have been impeccable had he added, "and steel." For while she was resplendent in prosperity, it was in tragedy that she became superb.

But she is merely the climax of a family chronicle with a curiously pyrotechnic aspect. Bouvier rose like a rocket, floated for a time across the sky, burst in a star-shower unprecedented in American history, and drifted away like smoke. The direct line of descent, as Davis presents it, is (1) a mighty man, (2) a good man, (3) a strutter, (4) a rotter, and Jacqueline. The male line did continue with (5) a lush, and (6) a blameless expatriate. One Bouvier came to America in 1815 and after 150 years one went back to France. And that's that.

But progeny of the Bouvier daughters are spread across the continent and still exert no small influence on American life. The mighty man was Michael Bouvier, a cabinetmaker and the son and grandson of cabinetmakers in an obscure village in southern France. As a common soldier he fought under Soult at Toulouse and under Napoleon at Waterloo, then escaped to America just one jump ahead of the vindictive Bourbons. Starting with no asset except the skill of his hands he fought his way up from mechanic to drayman, to fuel dealer, to furniture manufacturer, to importer of marble and fine woods, to real-estate speculator, and died worth $800,000, in purchasing power the equivalent of three times as much today. He had three sons, one a drifter, one the inheritor of part of his power which doubled the family fortune but never married. So the line continued through the third son, a hero, wounded successively at Second Bull Run, at Charlottesville, and at Gettysburg, after which he was invalided out of the service. His son was the strutter, a brilliant trial lawyer and compiler of a fantastic genealogy of the Bouviers, whose extravagance depleted the family fortune. Of his two sons the first was a soldier badly gassed in France during the battle of the Meuses-Argonne, and not much good thereafter, although he did beget the last of the Bouviers. The other was the rotter, charming, but useless, his one creditable achievement being the begetting of Jacqueline and her sister, the Princess Radziwill.

But, beginning with the children of Big Mike, the Bouviers married Drexels, Pattersons, Ewings and other leading characters in the books of Dun & Bradstreet. Resentful of the scorn heaped on Catholics in Protestant Philadelphia, most of them became fanatically Catholic, one taking the veil of a nun and another perhaps the third American-born saint to be, on account of her work in Catholic charities. The Church has received large sums from Bouvier bequests.

This is presented in a narrative slightly marred by too much attention to the French Bouviers, but written always in lucid, nervous English that is often charming and once or twice really eloquent. The author's estimate of the extent of Jacqueline's influence on American society is perhaps a bit exaggerated, but that is compensated by his demolition of the absurdities into which snobbery led some of the family. The book may infuriate the dowagers, but it is a contribution to honest social history.

Contemporary History:
Written at the Source

A SENSE OF ASIA
Sol Sanders

In a vivid "insider's report" of exceptional range, an experienced journalist offers a provocative study of an enormously contradictory continent. Although the United States has made errors in Asia, Mr. Sanders believes we cannot give up now, for we are the chief revolutionary force there today. Filled with invaluable information—eye-witness accounts of villages, people and leaders—*A Sense of Asia* is an arresting and often disturbing book. *32 pages of photographs by the author, Bibliography.* $7.95

THE UNITED NATIONS
A View from Within
Ralph Townley

"The first comprehensive study of the United Nations and its specialized agencies to be written by a member of the Secretariat while still employed at the U.N....after the fiction and the distortions, it is refreshing to turn to reality and credibility in Ralph Townley's *The United Nations: A View from Within.*"—Pauline Frederick, *Saturday Review* $6.95

At all bookstores
SCRIBNERS
Over a Century of Responsible Publishing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Theater

Che!

(Closed by the police at the Free Store Theater)

A friend of mine, a brilliant, sophisticated anthropologist in his early thirties, told me that he knew for the first time that there was a present culture which he found thoroughly mysterious, which seemed to him remote and unfathomable as a secret Persian society, when he saw "Che!" He and I are among the handful of theater-goers who are likely to have this experience. Having got through a few previews (at a $10.00 admission charge and to considerable word-of-mouth publicity) the play was closed down by the police after the opening night, and its participants and a half-dozen other persons associated with it arrested and charged with "public lewdness, consentual sodomy and disseminating indecent material to minors." There will be a hearing in Criminal Court in New York on April 30th.

"Che!" is an emanation from the world of recent rebellion and disaffection, from hippydom, the new anarchism, the new sexual iconoclasm. It rises in all its baffling authenticity, its dogged air of knowing itself, from phenomena such as the drug scene, the rejection of the past, the theory of the world as implicitly sexual, the loss of egos and their replacement by bodies. The one thing it doesn't rise from is drama as an art form, although the stage as an arena for acting out is centrally in the calculations. And yet sad and awful as it is, a memory with which one will doubtless cope unavailingly for a long time to come, it isn't an aberration but a solid, representative, indigenous artifact, as real as a polar bear's carved tooth, something we have been waiting for since everything announced its preparation.

On the make-shift stage of a seedy little place called the Free Store Theater on Cooper Square, four performers (and a fifth in a monkey mask) enact a ritual charade in the form of a play about sex as politics and politics as sex, about the world seen as an orgasm, power as a phallus and utopia as a wet dream. The chief "characters" are Che Guevara and a president of the United States (not specifically Lyndon Johnson) who engage in complicated philosophical and erotic colloquies and finally in (simulated) sex itself, with each other and with two women. One of these is a creature with a tommy gun, a silver jump suit, breasts covered with clear plastic cups, and the name of Mr. Fong – for which I can give no explanation. The other is a nun and at the same time, in some obscure gesture to actuality, the woman who led to Che's capture and death in Bolivia.

The actor playing the President, a tall, sallow, puffy-faced, melancholy young fellow with hair to his shoulders and the pitted back of a one-time acne sufferer, is nude throughout, except for an Uncle Sam hat. The one playing Che, a short, long-haired and long-bearded, sallow young man, is dressed, except for a number of occasions when he takes his penis out, as part of the action or of the philosophy. Mr. Fong is clothed except for her see-through brassiere, while the nun is mostly naked. What they do is this: they touch each other's parts, refer to each other's parts and to various erotic activities in no-nonsense language, and pretend to perform on the stage intercourse, sodomy, cunnilingus, fellatio and auto-fellatio. One of them also pretends to defecate into a large urn that up until then had been purely decorative.

The point about the simulation of the sexual and scatalogical acts is a crucial one. The troupe was arrested, as far as one could determine from the language in the *Times*, for *doing* these things. But they don't do them, they merely pretend, entirely unconvincingly, to do them; in the scenes of fellatio, for example, two whole fists are between one man's mouth and the other's genitals; in the one of heterosexual intercourse, anyone not caught up in an avid dream can see that nothing is being penetrated, no consummation is even approached. There is never the slightest hint in this most anaphrodisiac of events that anyone is being aroused; nothing rises or flows, nothing leaps or trembles. The sad, unlovely, unbelievably inept performers, young persons reeling up to the frontier, wander zombie-like through all the proceedings, zonked, most probably, on acid as real persons, and, as performers, flattened by the sheer im-

Perspectives and Issues
from The UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS

Kusum Nair

The Lonely Furrow

Farming in the United States, Japan, and India

Is American farming efficiency a myth? Is the Japanese farmer the most efficient in the world? In answering these questions, Kusum Nair provides fascinating portraits of individual farmers and comes to some surprising conclusions regarding agricultural development in underdeveloped countries.

May $7.95

Wendell Glick, Editor

The Recognition of Henry David Thoreau

Selected Criticism Since 1848

Through a selection of the most representative American and English criticism, this basic source book maps the upward evolution of Thoreau's reputation and reflects the changing course of critical taste over the last hundred years.

March $8.50

M. R. Delany and Robert Campbell

Search for a Place

Black Separatism and Africa, 1860

Fascinating accounts of a journey to West Africa, by two pre-Civil-War proponents of black separatism. Included under the title are Delany's **Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party** and Campbell's **A Pilgrimage to My Motherland.**

May $4.95

Recently Published
Charles W. Chesnutt

The Marrow of Tradition

Introduction by Robert M. Farnsworth

A moving and memorable tale of racial confrontation in a reconstructionist Southern town, by Charles W. Chesnutt (1858-1932)—the first major American Negro fiction writer.

clothbound $4.40
paperbound $1.95

Richard T. De George

Soviet Ethics and Morality

A pioneering study of the new Soviet emphasis on a specifically communist morality and a Marxist-Leninist ethics to be cultivated by all citizens.

clothbound $7.50
paperbound $2.95

Through your bookseller or order direct

The UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS
ANN ARBOR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOW IN PAPERBACK!

WINNER 1969 NATIONAL BOOK AWARD HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

WHITE OVER BLACK

American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812

by Winthrop D. Jordan

This monumental work explores the origin and development of white attitudes toward the Negro in America from the sixteenth century through the early years of the Republic. Writing in The New York Times Book Review, historian C. Vann Woodward described the book as "the most informed and impressive pronouncement on the subject yet made."

A Pelican Book. A1066. $2.95

Published by

PENGUIN BOOKS INC.

7110 AMBASSADOR ROAD, BALTIMORE, MD. 21207

haverhill's

name-dropper stamp-pen

from Italy is the cleverest and most useful pen we've ever seen. First, it's a splendid **4-COLOR BALLPOINT.** A flick of your thumb selects the right color for any job. Most important, the cap contains a complete **STAMP (AND STAMP PAD) WITH YOUR NAME AND FULL ADDRESS** (including Zip!) Now you can "drop your name" instantly on checks, receipts, books, envelopes, or anything you wish to identify —easily and quickly. Choose the Standard Chrome Model or the Goldplated Model, pictured here and fit for a tycoon! Either comes with **STAMP INK, EXTRA STAMP PAD** and an **EXTRA SET OF 4-COLOR BALLPOINT REFILLS.**

HAVERHILL'S, 584 Washington, San Francisco 94111

☐ **CHROME $6.95** ☐ **DELUXE GOLDPLATED $9.95**

I enc. check for this amount (plus $1 post. & ins.) Calif. res. add 5% tax. Even though personalized, I may return for refund in 10 days if not delighted. Guaranteed one year,

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

ZIP _____

Note: Fill in above lines as they will appear on stamp. TNR-0412

tireless name-dropper stamp-pen

probability of what they are being called upon to do.

I refer now not to the sexual illusions (which after all should be the easiest thing in the world to bring off; bodies squashing bodies can be doing *anything*) but to the occasion, the work, the drama if you will. The thing is by Lennox Raphael, a 29-year-old West Indian who has lived most of his adult life in New York. In composing his play (whose theme or point, I suppose I ought to mention, is that revolutionaries and capitalists are all involved in trying to make it sexually, that power is a question of who literally – symbolically if geography and such things interfere – screws whom) he has employed a rhetoric of such staggering unreality, so amazing a literary falseness and pretentiousness, as to make you suspect for a moment a sensational satiric tour de force. But there is nothing satiric; it is all straightforward dialogue, or rather hundreds of one-liners thrown out into the air, of which I offer a few examples, with the warranty that they are wholly representative.

"To dream is to hunger for reality."
"You are my psychic indifference."
"My identity will resort to violence."
"Revolution in pink negative."
"Responsibilization is futile."
"I am inherently attuned to my chaos."
"My loins are aflame with terror and caution."

The effect of such language, absolutely without existence and constituting an activity from some acquired dim sense of what verbal beauty might be, is to eradicate the possibility of any human life at all, let alone sexual, being present on the stage. Rigorously cut off from one another by the hermetic and self-sealing language, the actors go about in a trance and move into the required eroticisms like pure exemplifications, proofs that it is possible to show such things. And that is precisely what one sees: something being proved, something else surpassed, extended and *placed in the record.*

The event's reality, which I referred to before, its evidence of a new and impenetrable culture, lies in its having incarnated the desire to do what it does. Not to have sex in public, not yet anyway, but to *make* sex public. This is what accounts for the particularly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

joyless and dispiriting quality of what goes on, its sense of being nothing like a liberation but instead a new and pathological unfreedom; nothing is being experienced, imagined or felt, everything is being promulgated, demonstrated and forced out as evidence. The strangely negative atmosphere of the evening stems from the sight of young men and women without talent or personality or the remotest physical beauty lending themselves to the repudiation of their private beings, their mystery, their unreported and previously unreportable actuality, and offering what is left to us.

Had they really done the acts, it would have been better. At least the sex wouldn't have functioned as a replacement for self, but as one of its actions. Whether or not to see it then seems to me to be a matter for the individual taste and conscience – I am against censorship of any kind – and whether or not it will ever be possible to see it on the stage a matter of the development of the theater and of our culture in general. I doubt that true actors will ever be able to perform sexually in public, unless some dramatist comes along with a power of imagination so great as to be able to overcome the inherent contradiction: that sex, the most personal and autochthonous of all our acts, would in a drama have to be performed by people impersonating others.

Of course it can be performed publicly by people whose business is to do just that, people such as you used to be able to see in the Chinese theater in Havana. They can always be hired by the theater. But then we would have not drama but stag shows for the public. Another possibility is quasi-religious public orgies. But that is carrying theater past its foreseeable future and changing its modern definition.

The authorities didn't close down "Che!" because it puzzled them or made them feel estranged from a culture, but because they were acting out of their own: the normative tradition of a limitation on public sexual expression which has been under such siege and strain these days. "How far will it go," everybody has been asking. To which the answer is, this far and farther, the unfortunate thing being that this kind of linear answer to a linear question has nothing much to do with what is at stake.

RICHARD GILMAN

Correspondence

ROTC under Fire

Sirs:

Your March 8 article, *Turning out ROTC* . . . did not mention President Pusey's statement of February 21 that "the Corporation notes with satisfaction that a very large majority of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences opposed a motion seeking completely to exclude ROTC programs from this community. Mindful of the lessons of history and acutely aware of the dangers to a democratic society in the existence of a corps of exclusively professional officers, the Congress established the ROTC on a continuing basis when it became apparent that this country was destined to maintain a large military capability for the indefinite future."

As an alumnus of Harvard College and Harvard Law School, my chief concern has been that the final Faculty vote, if implemented, would inevitably expel the ROTC from Harvard by placing it in an untenable position, legally, economically and practically. It is apparent that the President and Fellows do not intend this to happen, for which I am deeply grateful.

Joseph M. Ambrose
Major General, AGC, MassARNG
The Adjutant General

Middle-East Peace

Sirs:

In discussing the prospects for peace in the Middle East (March 15), Philip Ben presents a misleading analysis of the basic nature of the obstacles to peace as well as of the forces presently at work in the Arab world.

Mr. Ben states that "there is no point in arguing about peace conditions, because nobody on the Arab side is ready to make peace." Peace cannot be meaningfully discussed in such an abstract fashion; it must be studied in the context of the grievances of each party and of the terms of settlement each proposes. To assert that "nobody on the Arab side is ready to make peace" is misleading. It would be more accurate to say that nobody on the

BEAM'S CHOICE IS TOO GOOD TO GET "BOMBED" ON.

We go to a lot of trouble to make a good Bourbon.
Aging it eight long years.
Charcoal filtering it after aging.
The result is a Bourbon that's too good to waste on people who intend to overindulge.
Beam's Choice deserves an appreciative audience.
It's not intended for children. No matter how old they are.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arab side is ready to make peace on Israeli terms, the essence of which is mutually understood – recognition of the state of Israel and its sovereign rights, among them those of navigation, *as a prelude to* moves for settlement of the Palestine refugee problem. The Arabs insist that the Palestine refugee problem cannot be separated from the question of recognition because, as they see it, the settlement of this problem by repatriation or voluntary resettlement with compensation is largely the responsibility of the state whose creation created the problem. Indeed, it is a responsibility the acceptance of which is, in Arab eyes, a prerequisite of this state's emergence as a full partner in the world community.

The Israelis find themselves unwilling to accept this responsibility because it might lead to a population balance incompatible with the maintenance of the exclusive ideological basis of the present state of Israel. In noting that "for the time being at least, Israeli justice and Arab justice are incompatible," Mr. Ben comes upon the true basis for the absence of peace in the Middle East today. In the presence of conflicting views of justice, the Israeli refusal to accept Arab terms prevents peace just as much as the Arab refusal to accept Israeli terms.

Concerning grievances, Mr. Ben touches on those of Israel long enough to indicate he feels they are legitimate. As for the Arab grievances, he dismisses entirely that one which is central – the fate of the Palestinians from areas now in the state of Israel and the occupied territories, those whom he describes as "the million Arab refugees who lost a country in which they had lived for a thousand years." The Arabs intend never to let the world forget that every one of the Palestinian refugees of today either inhabited Palestine before 1948 or is directly descended from someone who did. Mr. Ben seriously underestimates the strength of the feelings behind what some are today calling "Arab Zionism" when he asserts that the refugees "do not wish to return" to Palestine: a study even of *Time* magazine's reporting on developments within the Palestinian national movement since the June War will indicate the growing appeal of the idea that the Palestinian community must return to land it can call its own. The growth of fedayeen activities independent of the control of Arab governments can be traced partly to the dissatisfaction of Palestinians with the efforts of the surrounding Arab states on their behalf. Given that some Palestinians may not want to return, it nonetheless remains true that having been the party injured in the creation of Israel they should have the opportunity to choose.

Mr. Ben asserts that "in modern times, no refugee problem has been settled other than by resettlement elsewhere; not by going back to the country from which they fled or were expelled. . . ." The observer with a sense of history may well ask what Zionism is if not in part a modern ideology of return by Jews to a country from which they fled or were expelled. The world has recognized the right of Jews who wish to return to Zion after an absence of many centuries to do so, even at the price of injuring the Palestinian inhabitants of Palestine and in full knowledge of their opposition. Why then should it not recognize the right of Palestinians wishing a return to Palestine after an absence of twenty-one years or less to do the same?

C. Ross
Washington, D.C.

Notes on Contributors

MICHAEL HARRINGTON's *latest book is* Toward a Democratic Left. GERALD W. JOHNSON *is a contributing editor of this journal.*

Garrison Critic

Sirs:

Let me correct one statement that you make in the article, "What Garrison Proved" (March 15). You say that "not a single elected official in Louisiana, from governor and senators down, has yet dared to utter a single critical word about the D. A.'s action." . . . I have, from the very beginning, been very critical of Mr. Garrison's actions and have stated so publicly on a number of occasions. I still feel that he has proven only his psychopathic desire for publicity. I agree that he has to be described as a dangerous demagogue.

Leon E. Soniat, Jr.
House of Representatives
Baton Rouge, La.

Textile Compliance

Sirs:

May I commend you on your article, "Mr. Packard's Deal" (March 22), regarding Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard's "gentlemen's agreement" with three viciously anti-union textile firms.

The Textile Workers Union of America and the AFL-CIO have long, but up to now unsuccessfully, contended that the only way to secure compliance with the laws of the land is to withhold government contracts from persistent and wilfull violators of the law. It simply doesn't make sense, in any terms, to reward firms such as the J. P. Stevens Co. with millions of dollars in government contracts each year while the company continues to display the utmost contempt for our nation's labor laws. Other firms with a decent regard for the laws are equally able to meet the government's requirements.

Our organization has made common cause with the civil rights organizations in the matter of enforcement of civil rights statutes in the textile industry and we look forward with interest to the first of the quarterly reports on compliance which Secretary of Labor Shultz has promised.

William Pollock
General President
Textile Workers Union of America

Financing Artists

Sirs:

As one of the originators (through the Artists' Tenants Association) of the idea which initiated the Westbeth project in New York City (developed by us as meeting a great need for low income, permanent housing for low income artists), I must point out that the project is neither low income, nor permanent (there is a five year cut-off restriction), nor does it meet the need of the poor artist. It will provide only temporary housing for a few hundred artists in this, the largest artist ghetto in the world.

Chary as Congress and Michael Straight ("The Arts Go Begging," March 22) are of handouts to individual artists, they need not condemn

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

him to his begging bowl in perpetuity. Direct financing of extensive low-cost studio-living space, and of materials at factory prices would, without strings, lift the debilitating monkey of poverty from the artist's back. The government could then address itself to bringing the art produced before the public through municipal galleries, museums (an available model being *The Museum*, an artists' co-op museum now functioning in N.Y.), theatres, etc. The artist is kept free from institutional domination and the concomitant political rivalry and repression it engenders.

The solution is there, direct and simple; America must decide that she wants and needs her artists.

James E. Gahagan, Jr.
New York City

McCarthy Project

Sirs:

We are establishing an archival collection of McCarthy campaign material. The records will be preserved in a central location (such as a university library) so that future historians and political scientists will be able to work with them. For the first time, a grass-roots movement leading to a political campaign, as well as the campaign itself, is being thoroughly documented by those who participated.

We are interested in obtaining the following items from your readers: 1) documentation (such as correspondence, posters, leaflets) of anti-war, anti-Johnson activity prior to the McCarthy Campaign; 2) files and records readers may have detailing the McCarthy effort in primary and non-primary states; 3) material, particularly personal accounts, on the Chicago convention; and 4) any personal memoirs or reminiscences by individuals who participated in the campaign. We need campaign materials initiated by local McCarthy organizations as well as documents, reports, letters, photos, and newspaper clippings from individual states.

The archives are best served by original documents, but we will retain Xerox copies if necessary.

This is the only authorized historical project dealing with the campaign. The Project's operations are being guided by a non-partisan Academic Council whose 28 members include John Kenneth Galbraith, Max Lerner, C. Vann Woodward, Hans Morganthau, Robert Dahl, and Mrs. Eugene McCarthy.

Materials and inquiries may be addressed to the McCarthy Historical Project, 120 C Street, N.E., Suite 406, Washington, D.C. 20002.

David B. Mixner
Director

Kauffmann, *from page 24*

certain individuality without coming on strong; the worst thing is that, if you have seen him before, you know he is not playing Neil, he is using the role as a vehicle to deliver more of a situation-comedy formula he has developed.

Ali MacGraw, the Brenda, is a newcomer, a former fashion model. She is pretty and has charm, but I couldn't connect her with her screen family – even in opposition to it. Jack Klugman, the father, could have been good if Peerce were better. Nan Martin, the mother, has the right gold-plated metallic ring.

When the social comment in the film is merely dropped in, it's keen. After a long shot of the flower-stuffed ballroom where Brenda's brother is being married, the camera fixes on the rabbi, with his white-on-white tie, intoning Hebrew. The ancient prayer in a ballroom, along with the flowers and the tie, tells us about one-generation social mobility. And, at this wedding, there is an apparently Gentile photographer wearing a white satin *yarmulke* (skullcap) which enables him to move about during the ceremony. Nothing is made of the matter, so it is effective.

But, for all the good touches, what is missed is what Roth achieved: the telling of an *American* story about American Jews. Essentially, allowing for changes of detail, Neil is a Fitzgerald hero yearning upward toward a golden girl of wealth and "class." *Goodbye, Columbus* even has a good deal of the *Great Gatsby* climate: the swimming, the tennis, the affair that blooms in summer and ends in the melancholy fall. But the film, for all its amusements, is less like *Gatsby* and more like *Scuba Duba*.

Ariel Films
16mm FILM PROGRAMMING SERVICE
Most foreign & American films available, with film notes & publicity material. Write for our free brochure today, tell us your needs, we're here to help with films or lecturers for any purpose.
Bragin Communications/ NRP
645 West End Ave/New York 10025

I REQUIRE . . .
a "dating service" that
☐ has outgrown pop prattle about the "swinging scene" (ages 21 to 65)
☐ has the enlightened versatility to match flower children and Wall Street tycoons (although only sometimes with each other)
☐ has penetrated bigtown anonymity to dare deal only with its more cultivated, intelligent, literary community (48% through personal referrals)
☐ offers exclusive, expensive, exhaustive, individual processing by trained consultants
☐ A LOOK AT YOUR OUTSTANDING QUESTIONNAIRE
MIND MATES
Bureau for Interpersonal Relations
1 East 42nd St., New York, N. Y. 10017
MU 2-3757

Personals

FINEST HANDMADE CUBANO CIGARS in the old Havana tradition. Low Direct From Factory Prices. Box of 50 Postpaid. ELEGANTES—7in SLIM, $14.25; CORONA MAGNAS—6in THICK, $15.00; CORONA GORDAS—6in EXTRA THICK, $18.00. Choice of Wrappers. English Market (Medium) Candela (Extra Claro), Maduro (Dark) CIGAR CRAFTMEN'S GUILD, Box 5505, Tampa, Florida 33605.

NEW STREET ACADEMY on upper West Side of Manhattan needs funds. Purpose is to educate dropouts, so that they may go on to Prep School. Academy for Black and Latin Education, 73 West 105th Street, New York City 10025.

GENUINE BUCKSKIN JACKETS, gloves, moccasins. Send 50c for genuine buckskin money poke and big catalogue. Berman Buckskin Company, Dept. 67, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401.

HOW MANY VIETNAMESE FOUGHT IN OUR CIVIL WAR? Bumpersticker. 6/$1.00. Bell & Company, Commercial Center, Beverly Hills 90201.

WANT TO SHOOT DOWN THE ABM? Send for SANE's ABM packet, 75c. Items by David Inglis, I. F. Stone, Senator George McGovern. Bumpersticker, "ABM is an Edsel," 25c/ Dept. A, SANE 381 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10016.

A NEEDY AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD, eager and beguiling, awaits your sponsorship for clothing, books, continued education. $12.50 monthly. Futures for Children, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D. C. 20016.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KENNEDY '72 buttons 4/$1.00, bumperstickers 3/$1.00. DRUM, Box 609-NR, Fairfield, Connecticut.

EVERYBODY WANTS TO MEET SOME NEW PEOPLE, THE BLACK BOOK the Singles Dating Magazine just happens to be the SIMPLEST, SAFEST and EASIEST way. We deal in service, not sensation. That's why the Black Book is THE NEW YORK TIMES in its field. For your copy send $1 to Suite 503-C, 160 West 46th Street, New York City 10036, or send for FREE info.

PSYCHEDELIC LIGHTING MANUAL! Make light-machines, strobes, organs, slides, etc. Send $2.00—Lightrays, 713K Pine, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106.

DISCOVER AN INTRIGUING, fun approach to meeting alert, literate, Jewish singles. No computers used. For FREE analytical questionnaire write giving age. OPERATION MAZEL TOV, 663 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10022.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS. Low-cost, custom-made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please state intended use. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132. Phone (314) 423-5495.

CUSTOM-MADE BUTTONS, BUMPER STRIPS, DECALS, BALLOONS, PARKING PERMITS. Union made. Send $1.00 (refundable) for catalog and samples. LARRY FOX, Box 581-N, Hempstead, N. Y. 11551.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 93, 79 Wall Street, NYC 10005.

"JOY TO THEE AND ME—CONFUSION To Our Enemies." Plaque, $1.50; deluxe, $2.50. IDEA PLAQUES, Box 178-N, Rye, New York 10580.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad" covers all possibilities, all occupations, sixty countries. Include exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Only $2.00 postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed or payment refunded. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York 11730.

LIKE TOP QUALITY PRINTED SOCIAL-BUSINESS stationery? Send today for free Idea-packed sample assortment many beautiful colors and sizes. Jacques Company, Room 5-FA, 310 East 25th Street, New York, New York 10010.

WILD MUSHROOM LOVERS join International Mycophagist Association. Wild Mushroom Center of the World. Dr. John M. Linnet, Shamokin, Pennsylvania $2.00 Certificate.

"DRIVE CAREFULLY DR. BARNARD IS WAITING." Buy this BUMPERSTICKER (50c Each) & BUTTON (25c each). Also 330 other buttons, BUTTONS & BUMPERSTICKERS MADE TO ORDER. FREE CATALOG TO ALL Dealers inquire. SUITE 503-C, 160 West 46 Street, New York, New York 10036.

FORMERLY MARRIEDS-UNIVERSITY ALUMNI. Private Club in Manhattan, parties Friday, Saturday BE 3-5910.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1½'x2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot. $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

WATCHBAND CALENDAR — 12 monthly metal wafers, starting current month; fold around watchband. $1.50. IDEA HOUSE, Rye, N. Y. 10580.

SEARCHING? . . . It's not enough to just "know thyself." COM/PAIR, the "People-Matching-People" of Princeton speed your search. It's a way to meet a truly interesting match. National, international cliens. $10 fee payable when you return questionnaire Request free questionnaire from Com/Pair Systems NR12, 194 Nassau, Princeton, N. J. 08540.

WEAR THE PEACE DOVE. Quality ¾" pin. White enamel on gold. Man/Woman. $1.50. Peace Pins, 161 Grandview Avenue, Monsey, New York 10952.

HELP Amnesty International free LARISSA DANIEL (USSR), TRUONG DINH DZU (So. Vietnam), WOLE SOYINKA (Nigeria) and Prisoners of Conscience everywhere. Send $10 for regular membership, or inquiries, to AIUSA, Dept. NR, Suite 1213, Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D. C. 20036.

"ESCHEW OBFUSCATION" PLAQUE 8⅛" x 4" $1.50. Deluxe Edition, $2.50, grandiose, $5.00. Bumperstrip, 2/$1.00. Wry Idea Company, Box 178-N, Rye, New York 10580.

PRINT THAT! Academic paperbook printer Linotypes, lithographs 6x9 booklets. 500 @ $6.75/page. Prospectus 25c (r.f.o.) Unicorn Farm, Gilbertsville, N. Y. 13776.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalog free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

DIRTY OLD MEN NEED LOVE TOO—over 225 other underground buttons. 1/25c, 5/$1, 50/$5, 125/$10 and 1,000/$75. Bumperstickers, beads and peace jewelry, too. Free catalogue to all! Free sample to stores. A BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 MISSION, SAN FRANCISCO 94103.

TED/72 Bumper Stickers 4/$1. P.O. Box 195, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74101.

HUNG UP? NovaYoga brings Peace! Makes you The Person You Want to Be! Free Literature: SELF-REALIZATION, Box 393N, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will Forms and attorney's informative book, $1.00. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1967 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

HAVE YOU EVER TALKED TO A RUSSIAN? You can on June 7th because CITIZEN EXCHANGE CORPS believes that now more than ever face-to-face citizen level diplomacy is a step toward survival. C E C's two and three week study-exchange programs in the USSR are open to Americans of all ages and occupations who qualify. Leave NYC June 7, July 5, August 2 and 23. Write-Wire: C E C NR4/12, 10 West 46th Street, New York City 10036 or 212-LT 1-8113.

Literature

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR? Handbook $1 SUB—Box 19, University Station, Seattle, Washington 98105.

CHINA IN MAPS: An atlas of 24 colored maps, historical and geographical, 11 x 8½". Postpaid $1.50. Remit with order Denoyer-Geppert Company, 5235 Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60640.

FRIENDS JOURNAL: Explorative, unstuffy, non-establishment semimonthly of Quaker religious, social concerns (peace, draft, race, minorities, poverty, urban-rural betterment). We invite you to join us in seeking good answers. Six months, three dollars. Sample free. 152-A North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 19102.

BEST BOOKFINDERS IN NEW YORK: ORSAY BOOKS, 86-32N Eliot Ave., Rego Park, New York City 11374.

BACK DATE MAGAZINES! Send needs. Midtown, Box 917-NR, Maywood, New Jersey 07607.

YOU THINK MISSISSIPPI SOULS HAVE IT BAD . . . learn about Texas 'chicanos.' Mexican-American, 129 Cincinnati, San Antonio, Texas 78201, $1.00.

CALIFORNIA: Don't be led into four more years of HATE. Send "The Real Ronald Reagan" to your conservative friends. $1.00. Reagan Book, Box C, Diamond Heights, San Francisco, California 94131.

POETRY, fiction, essays, artwork wanted for new little magazine. Payment in copies. Two sample issues: $1.00. Atom Mind, Box 827, Syracuse, New York 13201.

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION for students, teachers and armed forces personnel to The New Republic Magazine. $6.00 for one year (a Saving of $4.00) or $4.00 for eight months. Mail payment and this ad to The New Republic Subscription Department/381 West Center Street/Marion, Ohio 43302.

NITTY-GRITTY local journalism from America's largest colony: Washington, D.C. Six month trial: $1 Capitol Eaast Gazette, 109 8th NE Washington, D.C. 20002.

MY NAME IS RICHARD. I write BOOKS — publish them myself and sell them for $1. Want one? Send your $1 to: Richard Liebow, 948 Market, San Francisco 94101.

CASH for original manuscripts, plays, etc. Box 112, Brooklyn, P. 12, N. Y.

Employment Opportunities

WANTED: qualified biologist to spend three months in ecological research in Nepal. All expenses paid with the exception of air fare. Box 19226, Washington, D.C. 20036.

NURSERY TEACHER—10 minutes from Manhattan, established coop needs teacher/teacher director. Full/part time. September. Stevens Nursery, 800 CPT, Hoboken, New Jersey 07030

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COLLEGE GIRL or YOUNG PERSON who really likes young children (3 boys aged 8, 6 & 4) to live with family in Bridgehampton, L.I. from mid-June till Labor Day. *MUST DRIVE* Salary Open. Call 212-TE 1-8331—9-10 PM Or Write: Mrs. Emmerich, 1 East 87 Street, New York, New York 10028.

TEACHERS WANTED. Innovative, socially aware, grades K-8, also specialties. New York Suburb 45 minutes from NYC. Salary range for 1969 is $6,900 to $14,000+. Contact Mr. N. Karamessinis, Asst. Supt. for Instr., Box 241, Rockaway, New Jersey 201—361-2900.

BLACK ADMISSIONS OFFICER sought by Student Coalition due to administration claims of inability to fill position. Student Coalition c/o Charles Snoody, 143 Lile Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia 22905.

BOOMING AUSTRALIA wants You! Good jobs. Adventure. Forms and Australian Handbook (1969) describing Australian assisted passage, passport-visa, advantages, opportunities $1.00. Buckeye, Box 1032-HM, Fairborn, Ohio 45524.

TEACHING OPPORTUNITIES—Teachers, all subjects and levels; administrators; department heads, housemothers, nurses, etc.; private schools, all states, beginners, experienced; initial details without obligation; confidential. School Service Bureau, Box 2780, Windsor, Connecticut.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU! Government assisted passage. Unlimited opportunities. Latest Government Information and Forms. $1.00. Austco, Box 3623-EE, Long Beach California 90803.

Employment Wanted

B.A. PSYCHOLOGY, 2½ years delinquency counseling experience seeks employment related to violence, war, psychology. Scott Seymour, 2646 N.W. 59th, Seattle, Washington 98107.

COLUMBIA, B.A., M.A.—weary traditional institutionalized positions, 3 years exp. certified School Psychologist, 2 years poverty program, seeks active non-bureaucratic position in vital environment. Box 4100 NR.

Vacations/Travel

SASHAY AROUND BARBADOS like you rented the place. Instead of a hotel or guest house, rent an apartment. You do whatever your vacationing heart desires, a maid does the cooking, cleaning and shopping. It's cozier, kickier, lots more private. What's more for two or more, its bound to be less expensive. For particulars, sashay a note to Barbados Vacation Apartments Company, Gateways, St. Lawrence, Barbados, West Indies.

WINDJAMMER VACATION—week aboard auxiliary schooner, "Richard Robbins.: Main bays and islands. Brochure. Capt. George Allen, Blue Hill, Maine.

EUROPE BY STUDENT SHIP. Attend shipboard language classes, art lectures, international forums, travelogues. Enjoy deck sports, movies, jazz and folk festivals. Low fares; round-trip reductions, 9 transatlantic sailings June-September. Council on International Educational Exchange, 777 United Nations Plaza, Dept. NR-3, New York, New York 10017.

"I TOOK THE ROAD less traveled by. And that has made the difference." . . . explore Anthropology in Chiapas, Guatemala, Yucatan; Art in San Miguel . . . explore living Theatre in London . . . cruise North Sea to Leningrad with YOUTH TRAVELS TO MEXICO AND EUROPE. Dr. Alex R. Lazies, 47 Stephenmarc Lane, New Hyde Park, New York 11040. (516) GE 7-7514.

EUROPE THIS SUMMER? College students ages 18-21 and young professionals 22-30. Looking for low-cost, co-ed trip combining a magnificent itinerary with loads of free time, theatre tickets, fine hotels and all meals? Visiting England, Italy, France, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Germany, Holland and much more. Eight weeks, $1525; six weeks, $1350. WITH NO EXTRAS. Dr. S. N. Lutnick, 32 Hicks Avenue, Syosset, New York 11791, (516) WA 1-7898.

RENT: Furnished mountain cottage week or month. Pico-Killington area. Tall Timber, Box 461, Rutland, Vermont 05701.

287 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses. $1.00. Voyages, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS and Graduates. Exceptional travel plans in Western Europe — Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—Israel—Russia. Get off the beaten track and become involved in European life. Speak French in France or Spanish in Spain all summer. Or stay in a Soviet youth center; sail with Breton fishermen; climb glacier-covered Alps; ski in August at Mont Blanc; make bicycle trip in Denmark; hike with Czech students; work in Israeli kibbutz; live with European family. Music festivals, theatres. 18th year. Write: George N. Shumlin, Putney Student Travel, Putney, Vermont 05346.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.25. Rates, schedules 700 passenger carrying freighters. Travel-tips, 40-21 JCE, Bell, Bayside, N. Y. 11361.

Property–Sale/Rent

MOVING TO CLEVELAND? For a refreshing experience in modern suburban living, the Shaker Communities offer: A nationally recognized school system; superior municipal services; year-round recreation programs; nearness to Greater Cleveland's cultural-education center and to downtown; fine shopping centers; mature, integrated neighborhoods. Contact The Shaker Communities, 16800 Chagrin Boulevard, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120, 216-751-2155.

HERMAN H. SOHN, builder of Crystal Court Manor, a Condominium complex of 15 two story buildings, in beautiful Hollywood, sunny Florida, is now planning a new complex of one and two bedroom apartment buildings for a retirement and vacationing clientele in the field of education, art and science. For more information please mail names and addresses of all friends who might be interested. Herman H. Sohn, 1354 No. 12th Court, Hollywood, Florida 33020.

Arts and Crafts

HANDWOVEN MEXICAN WOOL PONCHOS. Women/girls. Yellow, neutral, orange or pink. $7.50. Thaler's, 27 Whitebirch, Pomana, New York 10970.

FINNISH HAND-CRAFTED bronze and silver jewelry *(pendants, bracelets, earrings, etc.)*, brass buckles. Inspired by MEDIEVAL TRIBAL MOTIFS. Inquiries welcome from specialty shops, leather craftsmen, wholesalers. Catalog available. Sorsa-Finland, Nokiantie 2C, Helsinki 51, FINLAND.

COLLECT ORIGINAL SIGNED ETCHINGS and lithographs by America's foremost artists, including Dobkin, Florsheim, Greenwood, Hirsch, Landau, Margulies, Raphael Soyer, from $15. Free catalog with 47 illustrations. (Mail 25c for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6, 663 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10022.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

CABUYA BAGS—Woven natural-fibre handbags—leather-trimmed—for beach, campus, casual wear. *(C. D. Project)* Write: Andean, Box 472-R, Cuenca, Equador.

LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro, Braque. Moderately priced. Illustrated catalogue, 50c. George Kirschner, 90-59 56th Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

Music

FOLK, JAZZ, BLUES. We specialize in hard-to-get LPs. Send us your wants. MONON RECORD SERVICE, Box 18221 BB, San Francisco, California 94118.

MUSICAL DELIGHT for a lifetime: a Sabathil harpsichord from Vancouver, Canada.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 45c
Per word 6 times in one contract year ...40c
Per word 12 times in one contract year...37c
Per word 24 times in one contract year...33c
Per word 48 times in one contract year...30c

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20036

Printed By The McCall Printing Co.
Mid-Atlantic Division

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Give them this day their daily bread.

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

APR 10 1967

Think of the last time that *you* were hungry. Really hungry. Was it because dinner was late? Or because you missed a lunch?

Can you imagine what it is to go through life never knowing what it is like *not* to be hungry? Subsisting day after day on a few greens around noon... and some pinto beans in the evening? Nothing more. Nothing different. And not even enough of that.

It sounds incredible. And it is incredible. Because it's taking place right now... in the midst of the good life so many of us are now living in America.

But walk down the back roads of most any Mississippi Delta town and you'll see tenant farmers, field hands, seasonal workers ... and their children ... with stomachs bloated, eyes dulled, feet swollen, arms and legs matchstick thin.

The irony is that they aren't starving at a rate dramatic enough to arouse the indignation of the nation and the world. Otherwise something would have already been done.

One of the programs that is aiding many of these families is the federally sponsored Food Stamp Plan. Under this plan a needy family can convert a 50¢ food stamp into as much as $12.00 worth of food. The problem is getting that 50¢, because many families have *no* income at all.

The NAACP Special Contribution Fund has begun a nationwide drive to help thousands survive. If you can do with one less "dinner out" this month, the money can mean a month's supply of meat, milk, and bread for a family of five. Just $10.00 buys up to $240.00 in food stamps.

If you would like to contribute to this fund, please send your tax-deductible check, for as little or as much as you can, to the NAACP Mississippi Emergency Relief Fund.

Thank you. And may *your* next meal be a little more enjoyable.

NAACP MISSISSIPPI EMERGENCY RELIEF, DEPT. E-1A, BOX 121, RADIO CITY STA., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019
(A project of the NAACP Special Contribution Fund—tax-deductible arm of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED